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Slovak World Congress

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In May, 1918, just several months before the creation of the federated Republic of Czecho-Slovakia (the spelling used in the peace treaties and all official documents ensuing from the Armistice of November 11, 1918), the Slovaks and Czechs in the United States met at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. They spoke for their downtrodden brethren in Slovakia and Bohemia and brought forth the Pittsburgh Pact. By its terms, the newly created country was to be a federated country of the Slovak state and the Czech state.

Now, with the legalistic existence of the Slovak Socialist Republic and the Czech Socialist Republic in the federated state of Czecho-Slovakia a reality, the need again arises for interested, freedom-loving and dedicated Slovaks to speak for their subjugated brethren. In the current crisis, however, the spokesmen for the captive natives can come from various parts of the free world, rather than primarily from the United States of America. In the half century since the founding of the new state—Czecho-Slovakia—the Communist bear has driven Slovaks and Czechs to all parts of the free world. Admittedly, the largest portion of refugees of both nations are in the United States. But, some of the cream of Slovak intellectuals, scientists, teachers, professors and other learned Slovak men and women (as well as Czech) are found in Africa, Asia, Australia, Canada, Latin America and Western Europe. All of those could contribute special talents and ideas to the common cause of peace for their fellow Slovaks and thus to the common cause for the peace we all seek through the brotherhood of man under the fatherhood of God. To get them to assist with their talents, it was necessary to have a common forum.

In June, 1970, the Slovaks of the free world took

a giant step in this direction. From June 19, 1970 through June 21, 1970, at the Americana Hotel in New York City, representatives and leaders of Slovak civic, cultural, fraternal and religious organizations from such diverse places as Australia, Argentina, Brazil, Venezuela, Canada, England, Africa, Sweden, Spain, Switzerland, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, Austria and Chile met in formal conclave. There, they created the Slovak World Congress with Stephen B. Roman, internationally renowned industrialist of Toronto, Ontario in Canada, as its first President.

A formal Declaration was issued at the end of the sessions which Declaration, it is hoped, will in years to come be looked upon as the Slovak Magna Charta. It crystallizes in 20th Century language and background, the age old aspirations of the Slovak people for unity, national self-determination and a lawful place in the family of nations.

The Declaration reads as follows:

"Representatives of Slovak organizations throughout the world, as well as individuals of Slovak origin in the United States of America, Canada, Australia, Switzerland, Italy, Austria, Sweden, England, Argentina, Germany, Spain and Chile, assembled in New York City in order to lay the foundations for the creation of a world organization of Slovaks hereby declare that:

The struggle for freedom and self-fulfillment is the constant goal throughout Slovak history. Attainment of this objective has not been without encountering obstacles, nor without requiring the work and struggle of many generations and countless sacrifices. Particularly now, when the Slovak nation is unable to determine its own destiny freely, everyone must make great sacrifices.

Slovaks living throughout the entire world, many of whom were born in the United States and elsewhere, accept as a moral duty the necessity to unite in the struggle for the natural rights of the Slovak nation and for the complete freedom in the determination of its destinies. We consider it our obligation to present to the world a true picture of the life and aspirations of the Slovak nation for a free and democratic way of life.

Today we are more acutely aware of this duty in view

of the fact that the regime which has been forced upon the Slovak nation is opposed to the national traditions of Slovakia and the country is occupied by the military forces of a foreign Great Power.

Therefore, in view of the foregoing:

We subscribe to the traditional values of Slovak history which have promoted the re-birth of our nation, its growth and its acceptance in western civilization among cultured nations;

We contend that the Slovak question is an international problem and therefore we request that international justice be done Slovakia, justice that would be expressed in full democratic statehood;

We take a positive attitude towards the process of integration in Europe and we demand that the Slovak nation be given the right to participate freely and directly in this process.

We desire and hope that the situation in Central and Eastern Europe will change so that there will no longer be any obstacle towards establishing and maintaining culture exchanges between the Slovaks at home and abroad which present conditions in Slovakia either make completely impossible, or allow only in a restricted sense.

We recommend the establishment of a permanent organization for the realization of all these aspirations under the name of: Slovak World Congress, which shall embody the spirit of brotherhood and mutual respect. Religious affiliations or political views, insofar as they are not contrary to the spirit of democracy and the objectives mentioned above, will not bar anyone from membership or active participation in our organization. We consider it essential that our goals and methods as well as our activities follow democratic principles.

We shall endeavor to have the Slovak World Congress represent its members on all international scientific, cultural, religious or political forums in the interests of the Slovak nation as expressed in the Constitution and by-laws of the organization.

We urge that the Slovak World Congress devote itself towards promoting the spirit of unity and to co-ordinate all national efforts through constant contact with member organizations maintained through central secretariats, regional secre-

tariats, committees and information bureaus in various countries around the world.

We ask the blessing of Almighty God in this undertaking in the firm hope that with the help and co-operation of all Slovaks we may successfully fulfill our role."

A program for concerted action was formulated at the founding sessions of the Congress. In mid-1971, at the closing session of the first Congress to be held at Toronto from June 17 through 20, 1971, it is expected that a well-organized, progressive, farsighted and unified central vehicle will emerge.

This central organ will make it possible for the Slovaks to act in conjunction with or on a parallel level with the other peoples of central and eastern Europe, all of whom, have the common fate of being presently under the domination of the Soviet tanks and forces.

It will at long last also give the Slovaks a worldwide representative body to speak for and act on behalf of their oppressed brethren in occupied Slovakia. Without such a voice to speak for them, our native Slovak kin might well feel abandoned by the fortunate Slovaks now settled throughout the free world.

That our brethren in Slovakia would lose faith or themselves give up their fight for freedom and self-determination, is, of course, unthinkable in view of their centuries old struggle for these ideals.

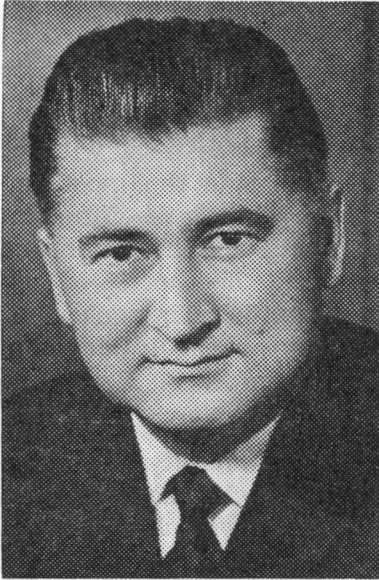
With good will on the part of all, with prayerful petitions to the Father of all, and with sacrifices of time, energy and finances by all, free world Slovaks should, under the imaginative, inspiring and dedicated leadership of Stephen B. Roman, be especially able to make a very worthwhile contribution to the Brotherhood of Man under the Fatherhood of God.

May God grant that they do not miss this unusual opportunity for service and for good.

That is why on a previous occasion, I prophesied that June, 1970, the birthdate of the Slovak World Congress will become known in Slovak history as the milestone of the last half of the twentieth century. I pray that the events of the coming decade will prove me correct.

Stephen B. Roman – Slovak Tycoon

J. M. Kirschbaum



Stephen B. Roman

For more than ten years I was tempted to write something like "One of the most amazing characters I have met in my life," and a few years ago I prepared an outline for a book I thought should be entitled "The Defiant Tycoon." Odd circumstances prevented me from accomplishing either of these plans.

On April 21, 1971, Stephen B. Roman will pass the threshold of the half-century mark of his extraordinary life, full of amazing success, uneven struggles and varied activities which made him nationally and internationally known. The "Roman Story" re-writ-

ten and re-published in numerous languages in Canada, Europe and the United States gives an example of one of the most spectacular careers in Canadian finance and industry and we will attempt to outline here at least the most interesting periods.

Stephen B. Roman was born in Veľký Ruskov, Eastern Slovakia. According to his reminiscences, he grew up in a tightly knit family and his boyhood was happy and geared to farm life. An irresistible desire to see the world prompted him, however, as a teenager to leave his studies at the Agricultural College in a town near his home and to accompany his older brother George to Canada. They arrived in Canada on June 15, 1937, with two thousand dollars to buy a farm. For the following three years he worked for 50¢ a day on a farm near Port Perry, Ontario,

an experience about which he can talk with great humor. Then, after a short period of service in the Canadian Army, he worked on the assembly line at General Motors, but an awakening interest in the Canadian economy, in investments and in speculation led him to spend his time in a variety of studies from business to corporate law, history and politics. During this period, he became a Canadian citizen and in 1945 he married the former Betty Gardon, also a native of Slovakia. The following ten years skyrocketed him into wealth and fame.¹

On the treshold of his 50 birthday, we can say without any exaggeration that S. B. Roman made the most important and most spectacular contribution to the Canadian development of industry, finance and agriculture in the post-war II period. He over-shadowed the success of any Canadian of his generation and ranks with the nation's most successful and financially the most powerful Canadian, whose profiles were ably outlined in P. C. Newman's *Flame of Power*.²

In Canada's national economic community, the name of Stephen Roman became synonymous with the leadership of one of the richest and most powerful industrial organizations in the country, Denison Mines Limited and Roman Corporation Limited, both active in mining, oil and cement production and in a variety of other major enterprises.

Denison Mines became universally known as the largest uranium mine in the world and its billion dollar asset together with the holdings of Roman Corporation has often been called by financial journals the "Roman Empire." Together with its dynamic founder and chairman, Denison Mines have been the subject of numerous articles in Canadian and international financial publications, books, and newspapers.³ Except for E. P. Taylor, there has not been a Canadian industrialist who has attracted as much of the attention of the national and international press, as did S. B. Roman, whose views on economic questions have been sought by the nation's press, radio and television, and respected for their candor and independence of thought.

The Way to the Spectacular Success

In the beginning, S. B. Roman's moves did not amount to much, hampered as he was by lack of capital and experience. His will to succeed, however, was stronger than the odds against which he had to fight and his persistence swept friends along with his enthusiasm. In 1946, he organized the Concord Mining Syndicate, converted it into Concord Mines Limited years later, and moved rapidly into oil exploration just as the oil industry was agog with the discovery of the Leduc fields in Alberta. In another move, he created a new company through further reorganization, the New Concord Development Corporation, with himself as President. Success took on a broad dimension for Stephen B. Roman and his company's operations found profits not only in Alberta but also in the United States and provided funds of the size which would permit Roman to meet the test of his lifetime's greatest opportunity: uranium in the Blind River—Algoma Camp.

The opportunity came when two independent stakers⁴ from the vast area of bush north of the Trans-Canada Highway between Sudbury and Sault Ste. Marie, where Dr. F. R. Joubin discovered the largest deposits of uranium, turned to him for support. In January 1954, Roman made the critical decision to invest money in these Blind River—Algoma claims from the sale of his shares in Concord. Thus he fashioned Consolidated Denison Mines Limited. At 34 years of age, he began making mining history and the "Roman Story" was published in multiple variations more times on the American Continent and in Europe than any other in the past 20 years.⁵

Residing in a stately 17-roomed house with his family of four boys and three daughters in rolling farmland some 20 miles from Metropolitan Toronto, S. B. Roman made also noteworthy contribution to Canadian agriculture. On his 1,350 acres of choice farming land he proved as successful and imaginative in the breeding and development of Holstein-Friesian cattle as in industry and finance. His Romandale herd is recognized throughout the world as a producer of outstanding breeding stock and many breeders in various countries have selected Romandale animals for their own breeding programs. He takes justifi-

able pride in the fact that his is the only herd in the breed's history which had the distinction of winning, more often than any other breed, both the Premier Breeder and Premier Exhibitor awards at all three major North American shows: in Canada, at the Royal Agricultural Winter Fair, Toronto, Ontario; in the U. S. A. at the National Dairy Congress, Waterloo, Iowa, the International Dairy Exposition, Chicago, Illinois and All American Shows at Pittsburgh, Pa.

S. B. Roman's Personality and Motivation

Whoever knows S. B. Roman from his business or social contacts, cannot be but baffled by his complex personality, his easily changing mood from friendly laughter and smooth conversation to a temperamental eruption of criticism or rage—short lasting anyhow. "I never hold a grudge against anybody," is the frequent remark one can hear in conversation with him. Or insisting on the necessity of humility after an acerbic criticism of somebody—may it be the Pope, the President of the United States (not Nixon) or the Prime Minister of Canada—he would say: "I am, of course, sometime rough, but it is with a purpose in mind."

Though one can make a guess, it is very hard to make a statement about Roman's motivation. Not only in the angry fight for the principle of free enterprise with Prime Minister Trudeau in March 1970, who stopped the sale of Denison Mines, but on many other occasions, S. B. Roman insisted that money was not his ultimate goal. A Toronto newspaper wrote on one occasion that it is the liberation of Slovakia, which has undoubtedly been very close to his heart, but even a close association with Roman provides only vague and uncertain hints about his motivation.

As the most spectacularly successful Canadian of his generation—and the only non-Anglo-Saxon—who can be counted among the financial empire builders in Canada, he views, as the other Canadian magnates did, the free enterprise system as a fore-ordained to reward the most able.⁶ There are indications that he also shares with them other views. Like all of them, he regards the successful business corporation as the highest manifestation of man's

superiority and many of his business ventures would indicate that he believes in large corporations.

Even though Roman's complex personality shows genuine features of his race, he also has many characteristics in common with the other Canadian financial magnates. Of course, he is not the multi-millionaire mine maker who spent long years prospecting in the bush like Harry Oaks or Gilbert Labine. He belongs to the new generation of mine makers who used the promoters' phone and the stock exchange, shrewd deals and good timing for developing Canadian industry and increasing his wealth.

Among the Canadian "empire builders" Roman seems to be the closest to Sir James Dunn,⁷ the carpenter's son from Bathurst, N. B., who had "all the assets and all the liabilities of a promoter", and though he was a totally self-made man and proud of it, he became Canada's most flamboyant multi-millionaire.

Roman shares—perhaps unconsciously—with Sir James Dunn the belief that handouts keep people from working.⁸ Like Dunn, he gave large amounts of money to hospitals, churches and universities and received his first honorary degree from St. Francis University in Antigonish, N. S., as Sir James Dunn did. Furthermore, he has in common with Dunn the love for "dreams that open new frontiers and build for greatness"—the dreams which are "not the thin vapourings of the idle mind, but rather the vision of a busy brain."

In pursuing the realization of his dreams, Roman like Dunn seems to be hampered only by his impulses and always insists on his own way in all things, regardless of the number of enemies it may make him. Led by intuition and putting stress on "logic", sometimes his own logic, he would repeat: "Do not be afraid to be hurt or kicked, the time comes when you kick back."

Roman's beautiful residence near Toronto, furnished with many rare pieces of furniture or paintings, as well as his palatial second residence in the millionaire's oasis of Lyford Cay in Nassau⁹, bring him also close to Sir James Dunn whose insistence on palatial surroundings reflected—according to his biography—his efforts to compensate

for the oppressive poverty of his childhood. Roman had a happy even if modest childhood, but his first years in Canada were undoubtedly those of immigrants working for 50¢ a day from dawn to late night and he never forgot them.

In some other respects Roman reminds one of Sir Herbert Holt, as portrayed by P. Newman¹⁰. H. Holt was not a business administrator and promoted his fortune by refining the sleight-of-hand process involved in the acquisition of corporate control through the trading and re-trading of stock. So was to a great degree S. B. Roman. He also likes sometimes to sit behind a desk at the end of his luxurious office and visitors leave with the impression that he has strong beliefs and does not accept easily to be contradicted. But he also meets his visitors in the reception room with a broad, friendly smile and a strong handshake, if he is in a good disposition, and sits with them around a coffee table.

Roman's interest in politics and his warnings against Communism also resemble those of Sir Herbert Holt who, in 1931, said: "People do not realize the Russian menace. The spread of Communism is not a matter to laugh at." Roman was preaching anti-Communism since the outbreak of the Second World War and his visits to Moscow or to his native Slovakia, oppressed by Moscow, did not change his attitude. As a man convinced that only free enterprise can give people incentive for good work, and as a religious man, Roman could not remain indifferent to Communism.¹¹

Unlike Holt who according to his colleagues in the Conservative Party "really understood nothing about politics except how to manage ministers," Roman has been his whole life an ardent student of politics, national and international. His table conversations at home or elsewhere always ended in discussion on politics or religion—the second subject of his genuine interest. Of course, he can be sometimes an impatient listener, rather inclined to lecture authoritatively and arguing willingly on any subject. On the other hand, he can be very warm and friendly in personal discussions. As a result, he appears a different personality in his office, at board meetings and in the seclusion of his residence where on weekends he invites

his friends and quite often a bishop or a priest to celebrate a Sunday Mass and to share a dinner with his family.

In his office a senior executive, referring to Roman's dynamism and impatience, used to say: "it takes a strong boiler which makes 15 pots to boil and sometimes even tremble." And he was not far from the truth.

The Roman Legend

Why around some persons legends grow fast or are created at all, nobody has yet explained. It is one of the mysterious gifts which the Lord gives at his pleasure and not always according to our human logic. In the life of many successful or outstanding men there are ingredients which can give birth to a legend, but only a few of them became legendary. Extraordinary deeds or success in many cases remain unknown or belittled by jealousy of associates or contemporaries, while in some cases everything is magnified by wishful thinking and creative fantasy into legendary proportions. The 'hero' is credited with deeds, connections and power he does not possess or, if he does, in a considerably diminished measure.

In the life of S. B. Roman there have been no doubt many ingredients for a legend. God gave him also that rare gift of striking the imagination of people in a positive way.

It is not only his wealth which attracts so many people in high positions to him. S. B. Roman together with his elegantly dressed wife, Betty, can also be superb hosts, and many people try to get close to the Romans and flatter them in order to gain some advantage. Roman's sharp eye can easily spot this, but he had a good laugh when a visitor tried to convince him that he should accept some function or to be a speaker because he will attract people. "Why do you think I will attract them?", asked Roman of his visitor. "You remember what happened to Moses when he led his flock from Egyptian captivity and went to the mountain to talk to the Lord", answered the visitor, "half of the flock began to worship the golden veal..." Roman looked at his visitor with one eye and with a laugh told him: "Thank you very much."

Roman differs from many people who orbit the Stock Exchange and made money in the post-war boom in industry and speculation, also in some other respect. He is an avid reader and his library was built not only for the purpose of ornating his residence. Especially during the years of his ascension to wealth and social position he read diligently books from many fields and his conversations showed that his good memory helped him to learn more in some fields than many academics retained from university studies. Roman received from God among other gifts not only a good memory but also the gift of logic and ability to grasp the essentials of the problems. Discussions with him on many subjects were a pleasure in those years.

From the discussions on religion which has been for years his second subject to politics—never business at table—one has the impression that the concept of eastern Christianity, with the stress on the spiritual and the mystical rather than the legalistic and the philosophical, is his religion not only formally—he belongs to the Byzantine Catholic Rite—but also conforms with his personality. It is not in carrying out the technical word that a Christian should participate in the world of God on the earth, but in fulfilling his specific role—seems to be his basic religious concept. Of many changes triggered by the Vatican Council at which he was one of the lay observers, Roman can be more critical than non-Catholics or dissident priests, being inclined to express his opinion in strong terms.

Among other gifts Roman received from God also love for beautiful surroundings with a sense of proportion and good taste. If we believed in reincarnation, we could apply it to him and explain many things in the life of this extraordinary "farm boy from Slovakia." However, even without belief in reincarnation, one can explain some features of his life and character. Slovakia, that comparatively unknown land in Canada, is a romantic hilly country with hundreds of castles, fortresses, and former aristocratic domains. For centuries it was a bulwark in the defense of Europe against invasions from Asia. The Huns, the Magyars, the Tartars, the Turks overran the

country and the aristocracy who ruled from castles and fortresses over the Slovak population was international rather than national. For some inexplicable reason, this historical heritage became apparent in Slovakia more abroad than in their own country. The leaders of the Hungarian struggle for independence, L. Kossuth and A. Petőfi, or several Hungarian cardinals were of Slovak ancestry, the "king of Madagascar" M. Beňovský was from Slovakia, the founders of Pan-Slavism were of Slovak origin (but enriched Czech culture) as was T. G. Masaryk who freed Czechs from Austrian domination, and the famous astronomer and one of the youngest French generals, Milan R. Štefánik who made a career outside his native country. Roman's life and character may have its roots in this peculiar feature of the Slovak people and in the history of Slovakia. Indeed, Jeanne Dixon, who had the ear—so rumor goes—of some American presidents and predicted J. F. Kennedy's death, gave one day a halting look at Roman, whom she had met for the first time, and exclaimed: "You are a descendant of Genghis Khan." Roman had a good laugh and some of his friends too, but in view of the invasions and history of Slovakia, even this far-fetched possibility is not excluded.

S. B. Roman and Slovakia

The "Roman Story" became a legend also in his native country after his two trips to Slovakia—one in his own jet plane. It made believe millions of Slovaks that Roman will help their country, suffering under Communism and foreign rule, to regain freedom and a better future and that he will use his great wealth for building mines, factories, hotels in the beautiful Tatra Mountains or churches in Slovak towns. For his activities among Slovaks abroad and for his successful tour of his native country, he became the best known Slovak of his generation among the Slovaks in the free world as well as in his native Slovakia and great hopes and expectations have surrounded his name.

In fact Roman was genuinely interested in the organizational life of the Slovak group and from the end of the Second World War, also in the fate of Slovakia. He served

as the editor of a Slovak weekly, was active in the Canadian Slovak League, and was deeply involved in organizing cultural programmes for Slovak Canadians, setting up debates, concerts and trying to help his native country to freedom and independence. On his initiative in 1946 a memorandum was sent to the United Nations by Slovak organizations in Canada in which they proposed to the Delegates of the World Security Conference that, "since the Slovak People in Slovakia are a distinct and separate nation, the Security Conference provide and obtain either;

"First, if the Conference choose, that the Slovak People of Slovakia could be granted complete independence from the Czech nation or state, and from any other nation in the anticipated European post-war organization of which she will be a part;

"Or Second, that the Slovak people decide for themselves by a free and unhampered secret ballot under the supervision of the United Nations Military Committee, first whether they, the Slovak People of Slovakia desire to be completely independent and severed from the Czech nation and state and from any other nation in the anticipated post-war organization of Europe of which Slovakia will be a part, or second whether they desire to be an autonomous, self-governing part of the Czecho-Slovak dual State in the post-war organization of Europe of which she will be a part. N. B. In this latter case, the spelling of the name 'Czecho-Slovak' should be hyphenated and this should be its official spelling."

Later he supported activities of Slovak political exiles and helped to publish books and became a sought-for speaker at celebrations, Slovak days or banquets.

As he moved up in the social ladder, S. B. Roman used his connections to help the Slovak cause also on higher—often international levels. His relations with the Vatican¹² helped not only the consolidation of the church organization of the Slovak Byzantine Catholics in Canada who obtained a bishop of their nationality, but also in Slovakia. He made great efforts in obtaining Slovak spiritual leaders for some 500,000 Slovaks of the Byzantine Rite in the United States¹³ and memorable in this respect will remain

the huge celebrations of the 11th Centennial of Christianity in Slovakia which took place in Toronto in 1963. The main ceremony was attended by 18 Archbishops and Bishops, representatives of the Federal, Provincial and Municipal governments, as well as by the Apostolic delegate and some 20,000 persons.¹⁴

If Canadian Slovaks played a role of greater importance than their number would warrant, either among the other ethnic groups or generally in Canadian life, it was due mostly to his continuous contributions. This has been acknowledged on many occasions by the ethnic press in which S. B. Roman yearly published elaborate messages on special occasions like Christmas, elections or national days.¹⁵ He also supported academic periodicals and the Conferences on Canadian Slavs and earned great respect among the leaders of the ethnic groups in Canada.

Believing in organized work and concentrated effort, S. B. Roman was also instrumental in organizing the First Slovak World Congress which took place in June 1970 and was one of the most successful events among Slovaks in the free world since the end of the Second World War. Unanimously, delegates of Slovak organizations from many countries around the world elected him as the First President of the Slovak World Congress.

Roman's authority and popularity with the Slovak people grew incessantly since his appointment to the Vatican Council, his close acquaintance with President Nixon, his participation at a NATO meeting in Paris as a member of the Canadian delegation and his "red carpet" reception by the government representatives in Bratislava and Prague in 1968.

For all this Slovaks surrounded Roman with great hopes and expectations. In fact, his connections and his wealth gave him better possibilities to further the Slovak cause in the free world than to any other Slovak of his generation and he has been aware of it.

Looking back on the life and success of S. B. Roman, one becomes aware of the old truth that for societies as for men, there can be no growth without challenge. Progress

is a battle just as life is a struggle. S. B. Roman has been winning the battles because he was not afraid of the challenge. On the threshold of his 50th birthday, a great number of Slovaks and many of his acquaintances of other ethnic backgrounds will undoubtedly wish him to continue winning his battles and contributing to progress and happiness of his fellowmen, as well as to freedom of his native Slovakia.

- 1) *Fortune* (New York), September 1966. According to *Fortune*, the top-ranking international monthly for business executives, "In the last twenty years, Roman has wheeled and wildcatted his way to a business empire whose worth is conservatively estimated at 2.5 billion dollars."
- 2) Newman presents in his *Flame of Power* (Toronto, 1959) eleven intimate profiles of Canadian greatest businessmen. After reading the book one has a strong feeling that Roman belongs to this category of economic empire builders.
- 3) Among the books see: D. H. LeBourdais, *Canada and the Atomic Revolution*, (Toronto, 1959), p. 111-2, George Lonn, *About Men and Mines*, (Toronto, 1962), and *Builders of Fortune*, (Toronto, 1963), p. 55-60 and *Businessmen Around the Globe*, by the editors of *Fortune* (Harrisburg, Pa. 1967), p. 69-70. Among Magazines: *Fortune* (New York) September 1966, *Executive*, January 1960, *Monetary Times*, April 1967. In French: *Enterprise* (Paris, April 1967), as well as Paris dailies of September 1966. Roman also received wide television, radio and press coverage behind the Iron Curtain when he visited his native Slovakia on his own plane in 1966.
- 4) The book *Business Around the Globe* mentions a mining engineer, Art Stollery, as one of the stakers and says: "In one of the complicated financial deals at which he excels, Roman bought the claims from Stollery and his friends for \$30,000.00 and transferred them to North Denison Mines, an old copper-and-nickel company. In return he got one million shares in what eventually became Denison Mines Limited, which he divided with Stollery's group. Soon afterwards, uranium was struck, and Denison's stock shot up from 30¢ to \$12.00 within a year." *Op. cit.*, p. 60. In September 1967, it was quoted at \$85.00 on the Toronto Stock Exchange.
- 5) For more details on S. B. Roman's life and success, see my book *Slovaks in Canada* (Canadian Ethnic Press Association, Toronto, 1967), pp. 374-380.
- 6) S. B. Roman's philosophy on free enterprise was reflected in his speech to the Rotary Club, Toronto, in October 1970, as well as the Brief which Denison Mines submitted to the Federal Government in 1970 on the White Paper dealing with Capital Gains Tax. The Brief said that the proposal to tax economy is a form of "intellectual colonialism that ill befits a pioneering vigorous

country." In S. B. Roman's opinion, in the economy of the next century, part of the profits will be divided between capital and labour. He admitted that Denison Mines does not share profits with employees because "we are as much coward as anybody else." See "The Telegram" June 23, 1970. On his speech at the Rotary Club, see "The Northern Miner", October 29, 1970.

- 7) All quotations on Sir James Dunn are taken from Peter Newman's book *Flame of Power*.
- 8) See his speech in the Toronto Kiwanis Club, January 13, 1971, in which he said, among other things, "It is high time that we devise a formula that allows us to differentiate between people who really are not capable of looking after themselves and people who are lazy or not willing to work"... "I am certain every thinking Canadian must be disturbed by the developments they see occurring, developments leading to more and more irresponsibility and unwillingness to work. The danger is that it is a most infectious cancer in that it can—and will—spread to those, now willing to work, who by seeing compatriots leaning on welfare, start to wonder about the wisdom of working themselves." See excerpts in The Toronto Telegram, January 14, 1971, as well as The Star, January 14, 1971.
- 9) See Zena Cherry, "Home Away from Home—Beach Lot for \$1,000.00 a foot," *Globe and Mail*, May 2, 1968.
- 10) Ibid.
- 11) When the Soviets, together with their satellites, occupied Czechoslovakia, he was the main speaker at a rally in Toronto denouncing the brutal act of Soviet imperialism.
- 12) He was not only the lay observer at the Vatican Council but in 1963 he also received the Order of the Knight Commander of Saint Gregory. On his participation at the Council, see my series of articles in *Kanadský Slovák* and *Slovák v Amerike*, November-December 1966, and January 1967.
- 13) On this subject, he also published English and Slovak articles in the Slovak Press in Canada and the United States.
- 14) For more details, see my book *Slovaks in Canada*, *op. cit.*, p. 263.
- 15) In one of such messages, he made the following appeal under the title "Democracy's Most Precious Gift": "... "To those of us who have left our native lands for Canada and its precious gifts of democracy, has fallen the privilege of citizenship and the responsibilities of the vote. To us has befallen the choice of government and its leadership and the survival of all that we hold dear. It has now become our task to listen and learn, that we may judge the posture of the party and the stature of the man, and to decide and compare what is best in our own particular communities, for our own particular needs" ...

Political Views of Ľudovít Štúr

Sister M. Delphina Opet, SS. C. M.

INTRODUCTION

Since this study will concern itself with Ľudovít Štúr, the inspiration of modern national Slovak ideology, it may be beneficial first of all to review the life story of the man and then to consider his work and influence.

Though his life was all too short, Štúr was a key figure in the Slovak national movement of the second third of the nineteenth century. He was heir to the cultural, political and social endeavors of his predecessors, and he developed his natural gifts to attain the strength, courage and vision, which it took to launch movements toward realizing a vital national organization on behalf of his people. Without these natural and acquired gifts, Štúr could hardly have been effective in his work toward attaining independence in Slovak national life and the pursuit of culture. His greatest merits lie in the fact that he assumed the historical challenge to unite the fragmented multicultural powers of the Slovaks into a liberation front against Hungarian oppressors.

His contemporaries attributed to Štúr an almost legendary but realistic aura even during his lifetime. It was said of him that he had a magnetic personality, that his very presence bespoke patriotism and a vibrant national spirit.

Worthy of specific mention is at least one evaluation by William Paulíny-Tóth: "He is an extraordinary figure—a manifestation, as it were, of a leader charged to create a new epoch in the history of the Slovak nation."

His young collaborator, Jozef M. Hurban, devoted to Štúr a commemorative and comprehensive monograph which was published in the first issue of the revitalized "Slovenské pohľady" (Slovak Views). In his history of Slovak literature published in 1890, the literary critic and historian Jaroslav Vlček rated Štúr as the central figure of the Romantic generations, even though he did not see

in Štúr's poetry the merit which it rightly deserves. Criticism of Štúr was not wanting, but it did not detract from Štúr's merits or stature at all.¹

This fiery patriot was born in Zay-Uhrovec, on the twentieth of October, 1815. He was one of five children. His father was an elementary school teacher and a rigid disciplinarian both at school and at home. His mother's was a gentle and loving nature.

The Štúr family home breathed a peaceful atmosphere graced with poetry. The natural surroundings of his boyhood, with their profusion of beauty and natural grandeur influenced Štúr's outlook on life. It was very likely here and because of his environment that his aesthetic taste developed to a remarkable degree.

Leopold Petz, a Lutheran pastor, was his first teacher in the gymnasium at Rab. He kindled the glow of national consciousness and patriotism in Štúr's unfolding mind and animated his spirit with keen appreciation for the richness of his mother tongue. He also made him aware of the rightful place of the Slovaks in the Slavic world and of the potential concentrated within the new generation. After two years at Rab, Štúr continued his studies at the Lutheran Lyceum in Bratislava.²

Here Štúr and a memorable group of similarly ardent young men with him (Hurban, Hodža, Francisci, Sládkovič, Chalupka, et. al.), were schooled under the powerful influence of seasoned literary personalities who were still devoted to fostering at least some forms of Czecho-Slovak orientation. It was around the chair of Czecho-Slovak language arts held by Juraj Palkovič that the Czecho-Slovak Society, later known as the Institute of Language and Literature, was formed.³

Štúr was undeniably a talented leader who devoted himself first of all to lecturing on Slovak grammar, literature and history. He devoted much time and thought to Slovak national poetry, especially to works dealing with the themes of Great Moravia, Svätopluk, and the Slavic Apostles, Saints Cyril and Methodius. To the eager young members of the Czecho-Slovak Society, he spoke of Slavism, of the hardships and injustices heroically endured by Slav peoples over long centuries, and of the great responsibility

committed to the younger generation. He pointed out to them some possible means toward a better future and fanned their hopes for the building of a glorious large Slavic family. He made every effort to destroy all roots of doubt, pessimism, and prejudice, those divisive forces that plagued Slavic families of nations and fragmented their efforts toward unity.

His aims for establishing a standard language for Slovak literary expression were not purely literary. Since Slovak national life was closely connected with literary expression, it bore a vigorous sense of purpose. Štúr's prime objective was to unite the Slovak people culturally, politically and socially. A universally adopted standard language would greatly advance this cause. Granted, he suffered many reversals, but a awakened spirit cannot be stilled. As authorities intervened to support his Slavic group meetings at the Lyceum, new literary group in other places formed in their stead. The strain of the struggle to resist oppression in student centers left Štúr physically exhausted; spiritually, however, he remained strong and vigorous and indomitable.

In 1838 Štúr left his center of Slovak literary activity in Bratislava and went to Halle, Germany. His courses of study at Halle strongly affected his theoretical foundations adding depth and fuller meaning to all his later activities. He learned to favor much in Hegelian thought, the theories advocated by a German idealist philosophy. This experience created a mental revolution in Štúr's objectives and philosophy. It was, first of all a dialectical style of thinking which brought to naught all concept of a final validity in the results of human thinking and activity. This doctrine maintains that all is involved in a process of development, all is being perpetually transformed and changed, proceeding from a lower to a higher stage. It also maintains that human history is a steady process of development of this kind, as Štúr put it, an "uninterrupted chain."⁴

Štúr was not simply an unquestioning disciple of Hegelian philosophy, as is often said of him. Together with several other thinkers of his generation, he formed an independent philosophical school which exerted far-reaching influence and excelled in originality of thought.

Štúr's excellent book, "*Štúrova filozofia života*" ("Štúr's Philosophy of life"), embodies his philosophical conceptions.

Though his propositions in general are original, Štúr's underlying ideas were greatly influenced by Hegel. He was motivated by the idea that national unity is strongly furthered by means of common language which gives rise to mutual understanding. After his return from Germany, Štúr set out in 1843 to establish a distinctive literary Slovak language which he boldly promoted. Its basis was the central Slovak dialect which he considered the last contaminated by neighboring or foreign influence. He realized also the need for a common political effort; Kollár's reciprocity was not enough. He spared no pains to achieve a social and national awakening of the Slovak people. In a sense, Štúr completed the work that Bernolák, the first codifier of literary Slovak, had begun in 1787.

On his return from Germany Štúr became an assistant professor in the Pressburg (Bratislava) Lyceum. As he lectured in the department of history, students flocked to him with undivided attention, for this dynamic young professor had a wealth of attainable ideals to offer. But chauvinistic authorities viewed this influence with anxiety. In 1844, Štúr lost his post as Deputy Professor because the Magyar government began to tighten its political controls on Slovakia and found Štúr's flaming Slovak ardor a threat to its interests. When he was dismissed, many students left the Pressburg Lyceum in protest and continued their studies elsewhere.

The Bratislava incident did not intimidate Štúr; as a matter of fact, it only stimulated him to press on. He kept in close touch with his patriotic adherents. Because the ground was fertile and properly prepared for a national change, Štúr was able to do the apparently impossible. He strongly voiced the long repressed aspirations and justified rights of the Slovaks, he formulated the demands of his people.

Ludovít Štúr's publications of an article titled "*Žaloby a ponosy Slovákov v Uhorsku*" ("The Charges and Complaints of the Slovaks in Hungary") which appeared in Leipzig in 1843 which exposed the chief inspector of the

Lutheran Church and schools because of his measure to magyarize Slovaks for political gain became a sensation. The Slovaks had been resisting magyarization quietly but effectively; now, however, they were determined to secure an independent political status within the framework of the Hapsburg Empire. All petitions and demands presented in Vienna and in the Hungarian Diet in Bratislava were prompted by the following statement by Štúr: "We seek no rights established on favor, but we demand our rights on the basis of inherent right." These words became the underlying proposition on which were based all the subsequent petitions and demands of the Slovak leaders for equal rights. Štúr's debates and controversies with Kossuth, the Slovak renegade, stemmed from this moral and democratic principle. He demanded "peace based on just rights and mutual understanding" declaring: "In the paper, *Pesti Hirlap*, Kossuth is fighting for equality of rights, but in the Diet he advocates orders to investigate and punish those who define and seek their rights . . . That is Kossuth's concept of freedom and liberalism."⁵

Štúr continues to express his thoughts in writing. In 1844, after three years of waiting, he was granted permission to publish the periodical "*Slovenské národné noviny*" ("The Slovak National News") through which he was resolved to defend the rights of the Slovak people. The supplement of the periodical was "*Orol tatranský*" ("The Tatra Eagle"). Both were widely supported and endorsed by all classes of people, for the Slovak public rejoiced in the realization that this publication was in itself a great step forward in their struggle. Štúr, too, was gratified. His program for action toward achieving ultimate freedom was a realistic one. He gave credit where it was due yet he did not hesitate to denounce the shortcomings of his people. His editorials defended not only the purity of the Slovak language, but also the recognition of the inherent rights of the Slovak nation—rights that affected all their levels of national freedom: political, literary, social, economic, etc.

His exhortations are as timely today as they were in 1845: "Let us not yield, Slovak countrymen. Higher is the cause of the entire nation, higher is the cause of the

whole than of the individual person, and even the individual harm us, the cause itself does not do so. But with us thus far, it has been so that individuals offended by our people, immediately abandoned the cause itself . . .”⁶

Štúr's periodicals served their purpose effectively for three years, uniting the people, teaching and enlightening them and encouraging them during one of the most crucial periods of their history. This was almost too good to be true.

When the Magyars began to realize what these publications were doing for the Slovak people, fanning the flames of Slovak patriotism to the detriment of Magyar hegemony, they raised an alarm and put in action measures to have them confiscated or proscribed. Despite this suppression, however, much of Štúr's purpose was already achieved. The Slovak people were nationally awakened. They were conscious of a cause and of an obligation to defend it. Most of this new stirring never would have been realized without Štúr's activities and publications.

The codification of a literary language, which was perfected and universally adopted, concretized the efforts and fond aspirations and hopes nurtured by Slovak literary leaders in bygone generations. Ľudovít Štúr knew that the times were ripe for the Slovak people to appear on the national scene of history as an independent political entity. No language, except their own Slovak language could move the people to political affectiveness. For this reason, Štúr chose to advocate the central-Slovak dialect as a political and literary instrument.

Štúr was a deputy from Zvolen at the Prešporok (Pressburg - Bratislava) Assembly in 1847-1848. In official sessions he spoke out honestly and courageously about the injustice of disregarding the protest of the subjugated peoples against enforced Magyarization. He also felt duty-bound to advocate the equality of all people and sought the liberation of subjugated nations at the Hungarian Diet. The firm stand which Štúr took became a turning point in Slovak-Hungarian history.

At the Slav Congress in Prague in 1848, Štúr and Šafárik defined the political aspirations of the Congress. Šafárik's view was prophetic, while Štúr made clear the

political program of the immediate present: "Our aim should be to preserve ourselves. First of all, we must serve the best interests of our own people and secondarily of others. Thus far Austria has flourished, but we have been declining and perishing. What would be the judgment of the world if we were to stand for nothing but the preservation of Austria? Let us proclaim that we desire to stand as independent Slovanic communities within the government of Austria."⁷ Štúr was far ahead of his day, in visualizing a program to federalize Central Europe.

According to Bartek, Štúr was not a rebel. As long as there was evidence of national agreement with the Magyars, he was not for the destruction of the Hungarian State. He did warn the Magyar ruling class that it could not forever ignore and suppress the inherent rights of subject nationalities and exploit the Slavs of Hungary without expecting them to strike back with righteous demands for a free national life, for the very rights which the Magyars had resolved to defend for themselves in the Hapsburg Empire.⁸

When all these representations and demands continued to be ignored, only then did Štúr and his group decide to lead the Slovaks to revolt against the Magyar intolerance in 1848. The Slovaks were fully aware of Kossuth's ultimatum declaring that whatever rights they claimed to have in the kingdom they would have to secure with sword in hand. There was no alternative now except to resort to arms. The torch of national consciousness carried by Štúr and his group became a beacon light in Slovakia's struggle for freedom. Though revolt was crushed and betrayed by Vienna, it stands as a milestone in Slovak history.

The tragic reversal of the revolutionary attempt did not affect the leadership or the stature of Ľudovít Štúr in the estimation of others. The Hungarian revolution paid dearly for its national intolerance. It too suffered in a common defeat. Kossuth was forced into exile. Štúr and his group were under constant police surveillance, and many were their thrilling escapes from police snares and power.

A tragic death during a hunting event in January 1856

brought Štúr's life to an untimely end. He died according to his own predictions in which he had foreseen an analogy of his death in the death of Julius Caesar. Some Slavs considered him a setting star but actually he is a brilliant morning star marking a better day in the history of the Slavic world.

We return to Štúr to evaluate his work in the light of today's standards when, after the passing of a hundred years, the Slovaks are building on this foundation laid by Štúr and his school of thought, the promise of hope fulfilled—if only a new power from the East did not frustrate the effort. Just as Štúr repudiated and condemned the hegemony of the Magyars, so the Slovaks today rebel against Communist domination and occupation. Ľudovít Štúr's spirit lives on even though an Iron Curtain creates physical barriers to liberty.

GERMAN PHILOSOPHICAL INFLUENCE ON ŠTÚR

Among Štúr's earliest academic interests were the areas of linguistics, philosophy, history and literature. To pursue these in depth and to broaden his education, he decided to study at Halle University in Germany. It was in 1838 that he came to Halle as a twenty-three year old student—a gifted energetic man of large vision and great moral strength. He had been held in high repute at home and exerted notable influence among his peers. At Halle, he was an utter stranger in a big unknown world, and the weight of the strangeness that closed in upon him was of more than mere physical and social order.

University life in Germany was at this time strongly influenced by the spirit and theories of Hegel. German thought and academic preoccupation bore upon the topic of races. Yet this was in a day when the concept of race, as such, was not even properly formulated. The Germans tended to construct entire systems of philosophy and humanistic theory centered on the concept of race at a period when formal anthropology was just emerging. Fundamental misconceptions of race overtook not only historical scholars but also philosophers of history like Hegel. His philosophical system meant on the one hand, equating the Prussian state with the prime law of men

and, on the other, constituting materialism as the ideal of men and of nations. Exposed to this stress of innovation which was spread throughout scholarly circles by a ready press and which was further generally publicized by novelists and writers of all sorts, Štúr did not escape acquaintance with these false principles and this false philosophy of life was what contaminated all Central Europe. Fresh from the schools of Bratislava, he was not yet adequately prepared to discern authentic philosophic truth from political propaganda; nevertheless, he instinctively sensed the need to withhold complete acquiescence with Hegel. He tried to come to terms with much of Hegel but by the very fact that Štúr placed the moral and spiritual values of men as top priorities he put himself at odds with some Hegelian principles.

Štúr's courses of study at Halle deepened his perspectives even as life in Germany provided him with countless new impressions—views of life and the world, concepts and ideas in general.

From the German idealistic philosophy, even as from Hegel, its chief representative, Štúr adopted some new theories which resulted in a mental revolution. First among these was the aspect of dialectical thinking which brought to naught his previous conceptions of a final validity of the results of human thinking and activity. This doctrine maintains that all is in process of development. All is being transformed and changed and proceeds from a lower to a higher stage. It affirms that human history is a process by which the Absolute Spirit unfolds, a "chain uninterrupted" in Štúr's words.⁹ Hegel conceives of history as a process involving dialectical oppositions revaluating into a higher content of historical being. Freedom as an essential of history becomes an absolute necessity.

Hegel's philosophy of history strongly took hold of Štúr's mind at this point. The world seemed to be created for Ľudovít Štúr. He reveled in the thought of its systematic, architectural classification, its universality embracing all the dreams of the human spirit, its justice toward nations, all its sources of learning, its versatile penetration of all doctrine—all this bore upon him so overwhelming flood.¹⁰

The wealth of views offered by Hegel's philosophy opened up an idealistic world of envisioned by spiritual concept of nations and not construed from previous assumptions. It provided a new vista into the domains of the rights of nations among which there existed the future tribunal of Slavic nations, too, and led Štúr to the realms of Christian idealism.

Štúr's spirit was reanimated. The receptive soil of his mind was enriched with fertility for the germination of his own conceived seed. The Germanic world's new concept of views regarding world history in politics, religion and sociology at this time impressed and inspired Štúr more strongly than it had heretofore affected any other candidate from Slovak academies.

When Štúr returned to his native land, he returned as a Slav, but foremost as a Slovak returned into the ranks of his confused and puzzled friends and countrymen. He brought radical concepts to the rational school and to liberal life. These concepts characteristically dealt mainly with the Slovak past, present and future, for he brought from Germany a wide and rich source of philosophical and economic knowledge as well as a firm determination to devote his life to the task of national development. Štúr translated Hegel's philosophy into Slovak only insofar as he accepted his concepts, for Štúr was a realist in his approaches to the phenomena of life.¹¹

In his studies at Halle, Germany, Štúr was also spiritually revived. He left the university imbued with strong tendencies for the policies of Kollár and Šafárik. He was, however, an ardent Slovak by conviction rather than by accident of birth as was their lot. He was an ardent, tireless worker. The versatility of his talents and the needs of his country brought him to the fore successively as an orator, a writer, a journalist, a politician and a soldier. Both his friends and enemies proclaimed him the most remarkable champion of Slovak rights since the days of Matthew Čák.

Ludovít Štúr is sometimes accused of blindly accepting Hegel's philosophy and applying it to Slovak and Slavic life indiscriminately. It must be remembered, however, that political and national controversy existing at that time made it difficult, if not impossible to evaluate Slovak

philosophy correctly. Granted that Štúr manifests a dependence on Hegel and contemporary German philosophers, still to present him in this light alone—as his opponents have done—seems to be a distortion. According to Čyzevski, a former professor of Halle, Štúr and his followers were significant for philosophic thought in general. He goes on to say that Štúr's generation included several thinkers who tried to create their own philosophical system, and who in these times, excelled among all Slovanic nations in originality of thinking in philosophy. Čyzevski elucidated his point in the scholarly book *Štúr's Philosophy of Life* in which he clearly points out that Štúr was not a simple student and advocate of Hegel's philosophy, but that he formed his own independent philosophical system, one which in many ways differed from Hegel's. Čyzevski refutes the charge that: 1. Štúr was a simple student of Hegel's; 2. that his philosophical views were those of contemporary romantic philosophy. Štúr differed from Hegel in his approach to life's phenomena which he found realistic.

Prior to his studies at Halle, Štúr had cultivated genuine national convictions which were anchored upon Herder's humanistic thought together with messianic dreams that were to glorify the future of the Slavs. These convictions enabled him to take a critical stand in regard to some of Hegel's ideals though he held Hegel in high esteem. On the other hand, Hegel's dynamic view of history matched Štúr's ideas and provided a justification of his thoughts concerning the Slavic world, especially his views of the historical development of the world history of nations comprising the Slavic world. Because of the influences of the Kollár-Herder conceptions of the historical mission of the Slavs, Štúr did not fully agree with Hegel in his concept of the absolute States of Germany and Prussia, for in these Hegel saw the completion of historical development. From the viewpoint of theology Štúr here saw in Hegel's philosophy definite dangers of pantheism.

An authentic view of Štúr's attitude toward Hegel's philosophy is best provided from a personal letter which he wrote to Samo Bohdan Hroboň. In it he quotes from Hroboň's poem, in which he sees or perceives from a religious viewpoint, the shortcoming of Hegel's philosophy:

Povez mi pisani! kde hledat spaseni?
 Na svete marnem, cili v pravde vecne?
 Cili v kouzelne prajine zpomneni?
 Cili v krase, lasce nekonecne...?

Ach kam jsi zmisel svete me mladosti?
 Kam se rozplynul Buh otec milosti?
 Nenit ho vice! Usychejte kvety!
 Dechnite duse! do propasti svety!
 Nebot jiz umrel ten zakon vecnosti,
 Ze vlas sa nehne bez povedomosti.

Tell me, O Poet, where to seek salvation?
 In the temporal world or in eternal truth?
 In the respective countries' pulpits?
 In beauty, in undying charity...?

O where has disappeared the world of my youth?
 Where has vanished God the Father of Mercy?
 He is no longer? O wither away, ye flowers!
 Die, ye souls! until the world's end!
 Fear not for eternal laws have decreed
 That not a hair shall move without His knowing.¹²

Hroboň's next poem is encouraging and indicates that the religious home training and strength of Slavic convictions are more forceful than Hegel's philosophical doctrines:

Zijet duse ma a zit bude vecne —
 jit zadna bure, zaden boj nezlomi
 prave ponad ni s tisicmi hromy
 Jako stin lahky v uzase preleti
 mec obosecny Hegelove vedy.

Duse ma citem plamennym roztopi
 Mec ten, do prichu padne zahanbeny.
 Mec ten v nicote jak stin se rozplyne
 Pred bleskom vecnym bozskeho nadseni!
 Antheus slaviansky Herkula porazi!

My soul lives and will live forever —
 Neither revolutions nor war shall ever break its spirit
 Directly above myriads of thunderbolts it soars,

Like a thin wall will crumble in confusion
The two-edged sword of Hegel's doctrine.

My soul senses a burning flame within it
Melting away that sword that must fall in dust and
shame

As a wall crumbling in disgrace,
Before the divine lightning of eternal elan
With which the Slavic Antheus
Will destroy a vaunting Hercules.

Both poems bear heavily the weight of tension and conflict which the Šturists experienced because of their selectiveness in analyzing and sponsoring aspects of Hegel's philosophy.

In the first poem, Štúr expressly discourages the publicizing of the new philosophy for fear that the time is not right and many may be completely misled by Hegel. He advocated that his followers benefit by the worthy gifts of the great mind of Hegel and accept his philosophy only with due reservations; that they revamp it to meet the need of the Slavs.

Štúr emphasized the inevitable depth of philosophical studies to which Slavic youth would have to devote itself. Moreover, he took a critical stand and used the German philosophic system modified according to his views regarding Slavdom and moral principle.

Hegel's philosophical view became an impetus to Štúr in his compilation and formulation of lectures on Slavic history and poetry.¹³

In 1840 Štúr returned from Halle to Bratislava where he was assigned to the chair of Slovak Studies in Language and Literature, succeeding Palkovič in this post. Adequately to understand the nature of this assignment, it is important to realize the kind of world in which he was to teach. To say that it was riddled with rank feudalism is all too simple a generalization. Far truer it is to realize that Štúr came to a land where the Slovaks were held in abysmal serfdom, in an invincible vise of economic, moral, intellectual, spiritual and national bondage. It was the kind of situation in which misery bred misery, usually in such forms as alienation, alcoholism, desperation, extreme dehumanization of the individual and loss of personal dignity.

Unmitigated serfdom was reducing the Slovak into stultified beggar stricken with hunger and penury. Denied schooling and spiritual enlightenment he was all too readily becoming a prey to superstitious folly and to grossness. The three-fourths who lorded it over the one-fourth that was condemned to pay all the land taxes ever collected in the region saw to it that their victims had no outlook at all for better things to come—either economically or intellectually or in anyway whatever.

The Slovak element enjoyed no public community life as such and even though some attempts had been made to root cultural interests and to rouse the people to national life (such as the organizations at Trnava, Bratislava, Banská Bystrica and Budapest), they were doomed to short-term existence for lack of material support.

As a result, Slovak life became necessarily circumscribed to the primitive pattern of the familial unit highlighted with such events as christenings, weddings and funerals. Though the Slovak labored unstintingly, he was not given the joy of benefiting by the fruits of his soil.

When Štúr surveyed this situation on his return from Germany, he was forced to recognize this herd of subjugated beggars as his own people committed to mere animal existence, and all his nobility of soul rose in revolt at such inhumanity of man to man. But an emotional responses alone was no solution to the problem. He set himself to explore underlying causes, mainly the attitudes of the people themselves, their thinking, their social structures, their training and development, their milieu from small dimensional areas to the broad perspectives of the Austro-Hungarian domain.

Aware of the need for incentives for self-improvement, and realizing that the most effective incentive of all is man's conviction that he is a being of value and dignity, his own consciousness of self, Štúr readily understood what his main teaching role would be to raise a new generation for Slovakia. He devoted himself completely to the enlightenment of his people and never in the least deviated from this objective.

Under his aegis there was a vital burgeoning of new life among Slovaks of the younger element. He led the

young to new founts of elemental truth and saving virtue. His personality readily put him into the forefront as an inspired leader as his peers at Bratislava extolled him for his idealistic elan as well as his admirable self-discipline, his moral charm and his firmness directed first of all toward himself and secondly toward others. Impressed by the spirit of Štúr, Joseph Hurban who was a close collaborator wrote at this time: "We must challenge youth to difficult moral endeavors and teach the young to be concerned about the future. We must offer them Štúr as their paragon."

Influences of the Industrial Revolution as well as effects of the national revolutions in France and in the United States were not lost upon young men and women of the day. Innovations were rampant on the air—romanticism, humanism, realism, revolution, criticism, democracy, Pan-Slavic romanticism, and a steady stream of trends and thoughts swept in upon maturing minds.

Štúr observed it all and amid all of it mourned the divisive tendencies that tended to break the nation into two camps: the Catholics and the Lutherans and only bred new disadvantage. With clear vision he wrote in his book *Nárečie* ("Dialect"): "There must be an end to this kind of partisanship; we must effect brotherly unity." Also "Our entire Slovak family will be united in a common speech and after centuries of fragmentation and coldness the members of one family will recognize each other and greet each other and embrace."

The work of Štúr, however, soon evoked harsh Magyar resistance and this alerted him to the reality that it was not possible to wait for the younger generation to carry on toward brighter ideals; the need was immediate; the solution had to be effected now.

His efforts for political support were fruitless. Every country from which he could have expected help was interested in pursuing its own advantage rather than in relieving the plight of another. His last resort was to exploit—in the best sense of the word—the very language of his people. By establishing a standardized form of written expression he sought to bring about one unifying element for all the nation, one bond to give to all the Slovaks

a sense of one-ness, and through this medium to reach into the broader spectrum of unified national consciousness and national thought. He was convinced that given one common treasure to cherish and defend, they would be ever ready to defend it, and in this very effort, they would preserve their national being; without such a common objective they could readily lose even their national identity. Their common language would be their talisman.

To implement this idea Štúr collaborated with Joseph Hurban and Michael Hodža as early as 1843. All three were agreed that the dialect of the central regions would lend itself best as the basis for a standard Slovak literary medium. Bernolák's earlier (1787) experiments with a literary standard on the basis of western dialects had been effective to degree but not wholly successful. Perhaps this was due to the fact that Bernolák's ideas and efforts were in advance of his times. Perhaps it was because the western dialects were not the happiest choice he could have made for a common medium. Perhaps it was due also to the fact that traditionally the Catholic segment of Slovak people was ardent in promoting the Slovak cause while at the same time the Evangelical Slovaks promoted the Czech language and culture inasmuch as Czech had been adopted as the official liturgical language of the Lutheran Church. Nevertheless, Palkovič in 1831-32 translated and published the entire bible into Bernolák's new medium, and the renowned poet Ján Hollý (1785-1849) wrote all his masterly works in the newly codified Slovak literary standard.

It is understandable then, that Štúr's innovative effort was not readily endorsed even by his own Evangelical critics. In 1840 an open assault on the Slovaks was made at the General Assembly of the Lutheran Church. Count Charles Zay, their Inspector-General and some leading laymen proclaimed racial apostasy as a duty which the Slovak Lutherans owed to their fatherland and their religion. They maintained that since "the Magyar language is the truest guardian and protector of the liberty of our country, of Europe, and the Protestant cause, it follows that Magyarization is the duty of every eager champion of freedom and intelligence." There followed a series of

attempts to ostracize the Slovak language from Lutheran Synods and presbyteries. Kossuth who was one of the elders of the Church and a Slovak renegade spoke publicly in favor of the abolition of all existing Slav societies in Lutheran schools. One such society at Levoča had already been suppressed, "as a breeding ground for Pan-Slavism," its library was closed and its president, Ľudovít Štúr, was deprived of his post at the gymnasium.¹⁴

Magyarized Slovak overlords, noblemen and landlords untiringly sought to Magyarize the Slovaks, even imposing punishment on those who refused to be enticed into the Magyarized camp. Archbishop Patatič from Kolac, gave each of the subjects twelve sticks to beat up anyone who dared to speak in Slovak. It was publicly proclaimed that the Slovaks and their language must be exterminated.¹⁵

Convinced as Štúr was, however, of the greater objectives to be attained, he pressed forward with his new venture. Youth groups espoused the cause very readily and this support augured well for the future. In 1844 Hurban's second volume of the annual *Nitra* appeared in the new literary standard and in the same year Hodža established the society *Tatrín* which officially recognized the new literary standard and at once put it to use in the publication of educational books, monographs and instructional pamphlets for the general public.

Within two more years there appeared Štúr's political journal (three times a week) *Slovenské Národné Noviny* with its literary supplement *Orol Tatranský*. All these projects notably strengthened the newly devised Slovak literary form of expression and assured its permanent adoption.

ŠTÚR'S SEARCH FOR A SLOVAK LITERARY MEDIUM

Its Effectiveness in Unifying Slovakia

Slovak life was now assuredly given expression through the Slovak language. Štúr maintained that it could not be otherwise and the years have borne witness to his judgment. The task was demanding but largely because the ground for the identity of the new generation was properly prepared. Štúr not only understand existing conditions in Slovakia, he formulated, what the nation

felt, what the nation needed. He gave expression to the righteous desires and demands of his Slovak nation and became its model of an inspired leader devoted to spiritual and public activity.¹⁶

Štúr's call for further action was answered by Sládkovič, Chalupka, Botto, Hurban and countless others who felt that the proper course had been taken in establishing their literary language. Even the Lutherans finally accepted the Central Slovak dialect as a form of Slovak expression touched by foreign influence of one kind or another. On this matter the Slovaks had been merely sorely split in the past but now there promised to be a common unity to face the momentous events which were to follow. The work initiated by Bernolák was completed by Štúr. Even John Hollý, the greatest Slovak poet and ideologist of his nation gave Štúr his blessing in this venture.

Štúr and his collaborators found the Slovak language and literature an invaluable instrument for advancing all their endeavors especially in rousing the nation to self-consciousness. They studied its historic past and revealed it to the people who knew little or nothing about their historic origins and so had little impulse for experiencing pride of nation. They wanted to lift up the people from poverty and abandonment, so they enlightened and trained the general public.¹⁷

Štúr can rightly be called the reformer of literary Slovak. Under his dynamic leadership the Slovaks literally re-emerged from obscurity and oblivion. They asserted themselves not only culturally but also politically because they became qualified and fired to forthcoming uprisings and events that had trans-European reverberations.

A new era unfolded in Slovak cultural and national life when Štúr adopted aesthetic and philosophical principles in his literary school. At this point romanticism and nationalism were factically identical. Štúr's cultural activities were timely in Western and Central Europe where national consciousness, popular art, and folklore were the order of the day.

In this climate Štúr successfully organized his literary school and cultural activities, which marked a new era in

Slovak national life. The members of this school "imposed the most exacting task on themselves in order to elevate the Slovak people to the same cultural level as the rest of Europe, to release their creative energies and to enable a new national culture to arise from the existing popular art and language."¹⁸

Štúr and his school were imbued with objectives directed towards specific social goals. Hence the literature which they created echoed not only a melancholy restlessness and romantic involvement but also the call for a better world.

In 1842 a petition signed by two hundred Slovaks led by their clergymen was submitted to the Emperor in Vienna. The only outcome of this effort was that it provoked Kossuth to charge Superintendent Jozeffy and his colleague Hodža with betraying the Magyar cause and the Protestant religion. Both men were publically embarrassed and howled down.

By contrast, two voices were raised in defense of the Slovaks, those of Count John Mailath, Catholic historian of Hungary, and Count Stephen Szechenyi who stated in a public address to the Academy that he hardly knew a Magyar who "is not transformed into a madman and even more or less deaf to the laws of fairness and justice, whenever the question of our nationality and language is raised." He begged his compatriots to "do as you would be done by." But the day on which 'the greatest magyar' and his fellow-magnate entered these protests, the popularity of the two Counts began to fail; the frenzy of Kossuth, voiced in his brilliant and aggressive organ *Pesti Hirlap*, carried all before it.

As early as 1842, Kossuth declared in one of its issues: "Indeed, indeed I tell you, a Slovak nation has never existed even in a dream." In 1843 he boasted of his glowing love for his nation as the only one in Hungary which has any future based upon politics or law.¹⁹

The argument of the German people, *Herrenfolk*: "We must be masters in our own house," was already applied in the "forties" by Magyars to the "foreign inhabitants" of Hungary.

At this critical time the Slovaks found three leaders,

full of courage and self-sacrifice, Ľudovít Štúr, Michael Hodža and Joseph Hurban. All three happened to be Slovak Lutherans, courageous enough to agree in favor of the central dialect of the Slovak language for essentially political reasons. This dialect was a unifying factor which they believed would help strengthen their position in the struggle against the Magyars and Magyarones.

The Slovaks could no longer stand this type of oppression. They appealed to King Ferdinand in Vienna. He in turn said to them: "Every nation in Hungary should educate and develop itself according to law and justice and develop its national language as much as possible. The highest power will not object to this, but rather aid it in its endeavor."

The Slovak delegation returned home very hopeful. But at home disappointments and hardships awaited them, because the King's words fell on deaf ears and did not phase the Magyars.²⁰

In 1844 Štúr was dismissed from his post at the Bratislava College as Deputy Professor, because he resisted Count Zay's plans for Magyarization through the school.

Yet Štúr continued to express his thoughts in writing in the newspaper he published, "Slovak National News" ("Slovenské Národné Noviny"). The permission for the editing of this paper was given by the Hungarian government after an interim of four years. In this paper he resolved to defend the rights of the Slovak people.

The joy was great in Slovakia. Most of the Slovaks realized the importance of this news media, and at what price it was made possible. When it was first issued the people rejoiced in diverse ways to express their appreciation of its accomplishment.

The supplement to the "Slovak National News" was "Orol Tatranský" ("The Tatra Eagle") which was a power to be reckoned with. This newspaper was both instructive and amusing. It found favor with all classes of people, and reached all strata of the populace.

Štúr's program was a realistic one. He gave credit where it was due. He voiced his opinions in regard to the shortcomings of his people and denounced their delinquencies.

The papers served their mission well for three years, uniting, teaching, exhorting and encouraging the people during the most stirring time of Slovak history.

His exhortations today are as timely as they were in 1845: "Let us not abandon ourselves, Slovak country-men. Higher is the cause of the entire nation, higher is the cause of the whole, than of the individual and even though individuals harm us, the cause itself does not do so, but with us thus far, it has been that individuals offended by our people immediately abandoned the cause itself..."²¹

The Magyars came to realize what great influence the new publications were effecting on the Slovak people and began to clamor for the immediate suppression of this press. But the embers had been stirred. Much of the purpose of the publications had already been achieved. The Slovaks were finally reawakened nationally.

In 1847, Štúr was elected to the Hungarian Parliament as a deputy for the town of Zvolen. Naturally he had limited influence since he was the only Slovak deputy in the House. However, his speeches reveal that he was an enlightened fighter for freedom and social reform, one who demanded equal rights for all nationalities in Hungary, in cultural and political life. He repeatedly insisted that the Diet adopt laws to free the peasant masses from a feudalistic Robot system and labor rent, and that the culture of the people and country be promoted by the establishment of schools in the national tongues of the people. Among other things he demanded the industrialization of Slovakia and the adoption of humanitarian laws between the gentry and the working class.

One of the main topics of Štúr's speeches was the obsolete social and political structure of Hungary. He was all for a federalistic system of government which would give equal justice to all peoples. He advocated that special efforts be made to develop the State in new social and political reforms, and to make it a partner of modern Europe.

In creating their political program, Štúr and his followers, took into consideration not only their aims and desires, but also the existing circumstances. One was the fact that Slovakia was a part of the Hungarian state

in which it did not constitute a distinctive separative administrative unit.

The Slovaks were not planning to break away from Hungary. What they wanted most of all was to have the boundaries of the Slovak lands defined so that the Slovak people might have guaranteed equality with the Magyars in Hungary. This equality they urged was to apply in all areas of political, social and especially in cultural life. They intended to present these petitions to the Emperor and the Parliament but first they wished to have the endorsement and the views of the Slovak people regarding their aims and their achievements. In May of 1848 they met at the parsonage of Michael Hodža in Liptovský Sv. Mikuláš where they drew up a form for Slovakia's future political program called: "Petitions of the Slovak Nation."²²

Its Contribution Towards a Pan-Slavic Movement

Štúr's role as a reformer of the Slovak literary language was significant and far-reaching. His great efforts to this direction contributed greatly even to modern Slovak ideology. It was he who first gave to his people a new vision of political freedom and of a better future. Štúr provided a strong impetus to Slovak life in general by his own example, and by his writings embracing fields as diversified as poetry, philosophy, history, sociology, etc.

From his correspondence one learns that he had direct relations with the leaders of all Slavic peoples. During his stay in Vienna he came in contact with other Slav representatives: The Slovene Stanko Vraz, the Croatian Ban Jelačić, and the Serbian Patriarch Rajačić, who were working together and made a joint visit to the Imperial Court.

Štúr's reforms of the literary language also brought about the unity of the Slovak people and this, in turn, was followed by flourishing cultural and literary activities. His influence was so vital that some of his principles and ideology still lives in the cultural life of Slovakia.²³

The lyrical element is strong in Štúr's poetry and prose. He passed from the sphere of the personal and social into national and Slavic thought in all his works.

The soul of the nation—or of the Slavs—was his

constant subject. He concentrated on the pain of the nation's sufferings, struggles, and failures and this theme pervades the climate of his literary works.

Štúr and his followers were gifted with keen insight into existing social problems and this vision they combined with the romantic inheritance of deep attachment to their country, its people and to the Slavic world at large. They did their utmost to advocate and to provide democratic enlightenment for the unprivileged classes, viz. the peasants and workers. They defined, encouraged and glorified their importance, as they glorified the Slavs and all their past. One of Štúr's followers, Samo Tomášik, composed the Slav anthem, "Hej, Slovakia," which bespoke new hope, a new ideal and a great pride comparable to that expressed in Vajanský's famous verse:

I am proud to be a Slovak
Elegant is my race;
A hundred million souls it numbers,
Over half the world it rules.
With the Slovak tongue you can traverse
The four parts of the earth!
One of my brothers plants the palm
Another does eternal iceland scan
A third skims o'er the widespread seas!

From the phantasy which Kollár inspired as the great dream of one great Slav nation and one unified Slav language, the Slovaks, as Hans Kohn agrees "feeling abandoned in Hungary and their national existence threatened, may have drawn strength and faith in the indestructibility of the Slovak people and language," and it helped to continue to maintain contacts with the cultural life of other Slavic peoples.²⁴

Štúr's contemporaries indicated their Pan-Slavic sympathy and tendencies by reading Russian, Polish, Ukrainian, Czech, Croatian and Serbian authors in the original and were very fond of the famous "Ode to Youth" by Mickiewicz. According to Bobek: "Not even the Poles received it as enthusiastically as the Slovaks."

The desire of the Slovak poets and novelists of Štúr's time was to imitate other Slav writers, and their enthusiastic belief in one "slavic" culture was intense.

Čizevsky maintains: "The only book which shows similarities with Mickiewicz's "Book of the Polish Pilgrimage" is Štúr's work "An Ancient and a New Age of Slovaks" ("Starý a nový vek Slovákov") because Štúr speaks of another kingdom and of other peoples. However, Štúr deviates, because he wanted to unfold a realistic program, and Mickiewicz's *Book* could not satisfy him.

Štúr's position among Slav intellectuals of the nineteenth century is well attested among other various media by his rich correspondence with practically all outstanding Slavic leaders of the day also the fact that his work "Slavdom and the World of the Future" was translated and twice published by Russian intellectuals in the last century and at the beginning of this century.

Štúr, Kollár and Šafárik can rightly be regarded as great figures of the Slavic world to the Slovaks of the nineteenth century. All three expressed: "in the familiar mood of the period, a general belief in historical progress, in a bright future, in the advent of some great spiritual manifestation, of a new era for mankind which would establish forever a basis of liberty, peace and happiness." In visualizing the Slavs as a unified body with a great future, they helped the awakening of the national consciousness of their own Slav-speaking peoples.²⁵

LUDOVÍT ŠTÚR'S ROLE IN THE PAN-SLAVIC MOVEMENT

His Political and Social Thought

Slovakia is sometimes called the mother of the Pan-Slavic Movement. One of her sons, John Herkel, first used the word "pan-slavic" in his Latin treaties of 1826. In addition, the Slovak poet Ján Kollár and the Slovak scholar P. J. Šafárik were among the main leaders of the Pan-Slavic Movement. As a matter of fact these two are sometimes considered the fathers of Pan-Slavism in Slovakia.

Herder, in his "Ideas on the Philosophy of the History of Humanity" ("Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte") prophesied that the Slavs, who up until then were held in bondage and oppression, would awaken from their lethargy and free themselves from the shackles, and eventually recover their possession of the vast lands that

stretched from the Adriatic Sea to the Baltic, from the Don to the Mulda. In this heritage they would devote themselves to the peaceful development of the arts and commerce. Though unknowingly, Herder sowed the first germ of Pan-Slavism.²⁶

Štúr's significance in the Slavic world of this calibre was assessed by Seton Watson. In regard to the great literary efforts of Štúr, Hurban and Šafárik, Seton-Watson states: "their writings were of capital importance in the whole Slav revival of the last century, and form a strange sentimental link between the Western romantic school and the extravagancies of Pan-Slavism."

In reference to the first Slav Congress in Prague in 1848 Seton-Watson maintains that Štúr "played a decisive part in the preparation for the Congress." Šafárik, Štúr, Hurban and Hodža played a part second to none except Palacký at that same Congress. An analysis is in order in regard to these two opinions to determine Štúr's significance in the Pan-Slavic Movement.

As early as 1840, Štúr had recourse to the throne of Austria and there presented his petitions in regard to the injustices perpetrated by Hungary against the Slovak people. He formally presented his petitions to the Hungarian Assembly. It embodied these provisions for the betterment of the Slav situation:

1) A systematic investigation of the Slovaks who were maligned by the Magyars in order to obtain protection for the oppressed; 2) that there be two censors to safeguard Slovak official writings; 3) that a Slovak literary seat be established at the Bratislava Lyceum and at Pest University; 4) that certificates and church records be kept in Latin; 5) that church ceremonies be in the mother tongue and that every guarantee and assurance be provided for this practice.

The country was up in arms because the Slovaks dared to present their cause to the throne. Voluble insults were heaped upon the Slovaks in the newspapers, at gatherings, etc. Those who aided the Slovaks or sympathized with their cause were also abused.²⁷

It was at this point that Ľudovít Štúr asked for permission to publish his "Slovak National News" ("Slovenské

Národné Noviny"). Archprince Joseph retorted by saying: "The Slovaks do not need newspapers. The publishing of such newspapers would be considered traitorous."

It was the consensus in 1840 that Austria would lean on the Slovaks for political reasons, that is Slavic Austria, against Hungarian Austria (Magyar). But in Hungary Archduke Joseph had the upper hand and things were shaped his way. He even had control over the deputation of Slovak Pest in Church matters. At this point he is to have said: "In Hungary I know only one people and those are the Magyars."²⁸

The phantom of Pan-Slavism repeated its threat in 1830 when Russia established a Slovak literary seat at its university. The young Russian Slavists began to visit the Slavs in the South as well as in Central Europe. For the ensuing years the word Pan-Slavism had political connotation for the Russian and Germanic nations implying a belligerent attempt to replace their civilization with the Slavic civilization. The connotation derived largely from the subjugated position of the various Slavic nations at this time. In Vienna the guards were ordered to stress in each paragraph of the law of magyarization that every sermon in Slovak churches be preached in Magyar and in even remote towns and villages there was a strong ban against Pan-Slavism of any kind.

"In our country and near its borders," wrote Wessel, in Kossuth's newspaper, *Hirlap*, December, 1842, "Slovak mistakes are dangerous and a threat to all Europe and to our dynasty and country . . ." "Everyone who defies our Magyar language and our nationalism and who supports the mistakes of the Slovaks knowingly or unknowingly is an enemy to the peace and to our federation, and to our throne."²⁹

Štúr did not advocate the destruction of the Hungarian State. As long as there was any hope for a settlement with the Magyars, he was amenable to living with a fair situation. But he warned the ruling Magyar class that they could not forever ignore and suppress the inherent rights of the lesser peoples and exploit the Slovaks and other nations of Hungary without expecting them to retaliate and to demand a free national life, just as the Magyars were themselves demanding it from the Hapsburg Empire.

Štúr wrote a sensational article "Charges and Complaints of the Slovaks in Hungary" (*Žaloby a ponosy Slovákov v Uhorsku*) published in Leipzig in 1843, in which he reprimanded the chief Inspector, Count Zay, for conniving to Magyarize the Slovaks for political reasons.

Count Zay felt that he was truly aware of the political currents in Slovakia. By a logic all his own, he divided the Slovaks into three groups. One was to be concerned about literary matters. The second was eager to establish a Western-Slav kingdom in Austria; the third was accused of secret contacts with Russia.³⁰

It is uncertain whether these three groups were fully aware of the gravity of the situation of those times; however, all had one goal in mind: to save the Slovaks from utter Magyarization and to secure for the Slovak nation its independent political status within the framework of the Hapsburg Empire.

"We do not want our rights established on favor, but we demand our rights on the basis of justice," Štúr declared. These famous words laid the foundation to all petitions and demands presented in Vienna and at the Hungarian Diet in Bratislava. Štúr's debates with Kossuth all stemmed from this moral and democratic attitude. On behalf of his nation Štúr demanded "peace based on justice and mutual understanding." He went on to say: "In the *Pesti Hírlap* Kossuth is fighting for equality of rights, but in the Diet he wants to give the orders to investigate and punish those who stand up for the rights... That is his freedom and liberalism."³¹

All of Štúr's writings indicate a clear political view: Slovakia established as a sovereign crown land under the Hapsburgs, an equal partner of other nations in the Empire. In short, he was even back in his own day for a program of the federalization of Central Europe.

In a sense Štúr appeared as a Romantic visionary in the eyes of all who did not favor Slavic reciprocity or his vision of a great future for the Slavic world, his untiring demands for equal rights for the Slovak people and their national independence which he formulated in the following terms:

"Each nation is only one part of humanity, and no

nation can make for itself the claim that it alone attained the best possible human evolution and degree of perfect ability. Thereafter, no nation has a right to impose upon another nation its way of life when that nation wants to move for itself and educate itself as it sees fit.

"So that we Slovaks might be revived and assume in history that place which is rightfully ours by reason of our native strength and abilities we must once and for all free ourselves, because a nation which is enslaved has its hands bound, its spirit stifled, and is forever threatened with danger that sooner or later it will perish."³²

The year 1848 was ushered in as a promising one, but before long it became stormy. The more the Magyars spoke of freedom, the more tyrannically did they suppress all non-Magyars. They did their utmost to turn public opinion against the Slovaks. Wessel wrote to Kossuth that he would rather have 50,000 Germans settle the mountain countries than 10,000 Slavs. Once again intolerance charged all the climate.

At this point, Pan-Slavism evolved as a defensive movement among the Slavs rather than as a political movement aimed at replacing western dominance in Europe.

The term "Pan-Slavism" has been used generally to denote the historical tendency of the Slavic peoples to manifest in their tangible way, either cultural or political, their consciousness of ethnic kinship.

Cultural Pan-Slavism had its origin in the remarkable national awakening of the Slavs at the dawn of the nineteenth century. Submerged for long centuries under cruel masters, the Slavs were quickened to a renewal of awareness of their national identities, not by political leaders, but by their cultural leaders. These Slavs realized how they had been deprived of their national identity. They nourished better hopes for the future by seeking to reanimate the faded memories of a glorious past. In this effort they discovered that they were brothers bound by a common misfortune yet endowed with a vast cultural heritage.³³

Slavic men of learning helped to initiate national

movements among their countrymen primarily in order to establish the individuality and cultural worth of each Slavic group: Bulgarians, Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, Slovenians, Croats, Serbs and Russians. The various romantic movements were propagated in individual ways and degrees yet through them the ideal of Slavic unity, which had been lost in the past by foreign oppression, was to be resurrected with the surmounting and overthrow of that oppression. Pan-Slavism as a cultural and even as a political ideal evolved not in Russia, but rather among the Western and Southern Slavs, who had far more need of unity than did the mighty Russian Empire.

This stage of Pan-Slavism signaled the national awakening of central and eastern Europe, and was characterized by interest and emphasis within the areas of language, literature, and culture. Among the Slavic peoples many had experienced a thousand years of injustice and mistreatment which yielded an unhealthy state of discouragement and stagnation. Now in the hour of their national awakening, the Slovak people seek to forgive their cruel masters rather than to avenge themselves. This attitude was shaped by the acute yearning they bore for the self-determination of their country. As much as they decried the enslavement of other nations, they would not permit another to enslave them.

The literary and scientific Pan-Slavism of Kollár and Šafárik created a powerful national spirit among the Slavs. Then it became only natural that this desire for national unity and selfdetermination should demand to be heard and to begin to be realized within the context of political Pan-Slavism. It moved in this direction under Ľudovít Štúr who perceived by what stages Pan-Slavism must go. He foresaw that to achieve their glorious destiny, the Slavic peoples had to attain an assured measure of political unity. At this point political Pan-Slavism had two alternatives: Austroslavism, which meant retaining a form of Austrian political influence, for which Štúr was ready to settle when he advocated it at the Prague Congress in 1848, the first great manifestation of Pan-Slavism and of Slavic identity, apart from the Hapsburg rule, and Pan-Russianism which Štúr adapted after the failure of the Prague Congress.³⁴

As Magyar exploitation of the Slovaks and other minority nations of Hungary continued, Štúr's admonitions to the ruling powers fall on deaf ears. The Magyars stubbornly and universally refused to heed any demands for redress of any kind of settlement with the non-Magyar nations in Hungary. This attitude helped to precipitate the revolution of 1848-49, in which the Slovaks also participated. Štúr together with Hodža and Hurban led an armed resistance force supporting Austria against the revolution of the Magyar aristocrats. That the Hapsburgs were forgetful of this effort and ungrateful to the Slovaks, that they finally settled with the Magyars at the expense of the non-Magyar nations of Hungary, did not help the issue of the dissatisfied minorities. The settlement of 1867, referred to as Austro-Hungarian but being in reality Austro-Magyar, became the burial pit of the monarchy which could have become a mighty confederation in Central Europe. It was Ľudovít Štúr and not the Slovak Magyar chauvinist, Louis Kossuth, who was the genuine democrat.³⁵

No setback dismayed Štúr completely or caused him to lose heart. Under opposition and failure he tended to redouble his energy. Štúr was the heart, Hodža the brain, and Hurban the soul of the revolutionary movement. They set themselves anew to collect funds, provide weapons, organize a volunteer corps, choose trained soldiers to lead them, financially aid patriots who were in prison and conduct a vast correspondence. Though defeated and betrayed in the outcome by Vienna, the Slovak revolution of 1848-49 marked an important milestone in Slovak history.

The first large public manifestation of the Slovaks occurred on May 10, 1848 at Liptovský Sv. Mikuláš. On this occasion a historic memorandum embracing six articles expressing the demands of the people was adopted unanimously. In substance these articles were:

We demand that our people be permitted to take part in the legislative deliberations of the land, and this not only *de jure* but *de facto*. And as such participation can alone become real and profitable when conducted in a language that is intelligible to us, we ask for our representatives the right to speak Slovak in the Diet.

We demand the right to plead and answer cases in the courts of law in Slovak.

We demand that the school training of our youth, which is now so woefully neglected, be conducted in the mother tongue.

We demand just and equitable representatives in the Diet.

We demand for ourselves, and shall forever ask that our nationality, which we will never renounce, remain inviolate and inviolable.

We demand that this petition be made known within the entire juristiction of Hungary, in Croatia, and Slavonia and be brought to the notice of the viceroy and of the Hungarian ministry, to the end that all friends of liberty and humanity may plead our just cause.³⁶

Open-air meetings were held in larger towns throughout all regions during the spring of 1848. Equality and liberty, the maintenance and defense of the Slovak language were the keynote of them all. The Liptovský Sv. Mikuláš program was endorsed by a dozen towns supplemented here and there with petitions to meet subordinate local needs.

Swiftly spread the news that Louis Phillipe had forfeited his crown to the French republicans, in 1848, and it reached every corner of the Hapsburg monarchy. Vienna was seething with political excitement. Prague was in feverish anticipation of the approaching Slavic Congress scheduled to meet there on June 2, in protest against the bartering of Slavic Austria to Greater Germany.

Štúr went to Vienna after the March Revolution. There he met other Slav representatives, especially Ban Jelačić and the Serbian Patriarch Rajačić, who were working hand in hand and paid joint visits to the Imperial Court. At this early stage of developments, Štúr received an invitation from the students at Prague which he accepted and through which he played a decisive part in the preparations for the Slav Congress. On April 30, he made a strong appeal in favor of united common action between the Slovaks and the Czechs. For the time being, at least, there was a healing of the breaches and disagreements.³⁷

A manifesto program which was initiated by Hurban, was issued at Teplice in the name of the Slovaks as the original occupants of this region. It was addressed simultaneously to the Crown and to the newly-formed national government at Pest. Its main demand was that there be convened a General Parliament for the brother nations of Hungary. Precipitously, any further movement in this direction was promptly suppressed by the Magyar authorities. Kossuth thundered against the Pan-Slavs in Parliament. Hurban and a few others were obligated to flee and they joined Štúr in an attempt to rouse Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia to common action, and acclaimed Prague as the heart of the Slavic world. Meanwhile, Hodža issued a small book in German, presenting an answer to the Slovaks to Count Zay and his summons that a choice be made between Magyarizations and the Russian knout. Hodža's fiery response was: "Rather the Russian knout than Hungarian domination, for the one can only enslave our bodies, while the other threatens us with moral ruin and death." ³⁵

The time was ripe for action by the Slavs. Štúr proclaimed a Slavic Congress and agreed with Czech writers to set the date for May 31, 1848. Prague was chosen for the site of the Congress. A total of 362 delegates were present representing various Slavic nations, especially those under the Hapsburg rule, but the Poles and the Russians were also represented. The express objective of the meeting was the establishment of contacts and regular exchanges among the Slavic peoples and the drawing up of a program of action for all peoples living as subject nations under Austria and/or Hungarian domination. The four Slovak leaders—Šafárik, Štúr, Hurban and Hodža—played a part second to none. They were determined to make Slovakia an equal with Bohemia and Moravia, as part of a Czech-Slav federal unit, such as Palacký had contemplated.

At this Congress Štúr offered a program for federalizing Central Europe. The Czech were consistent supporters of Austroslavism. Consequently the problem came to be narrowed down to a definition of terms: The objectives of the Congress was either to save Austria, for with her lay the best chances of maintaining Slavic identity, or

immediate provision for the Slavic peoples living under Austria. Štúr made it clear, that his aim was not specifically to preserve Austria, under whom the Slavs had hitherto rotted, but to preserve his own people; Austria, he added, was decrepit and lay under a curse. He went on to say:

Our aim should be to save ourselves, not to save Austria. First we must work for ourselves, then for others. Thus far Austria has been flourishing but we have been languishing. What would the world say to us if we stood for nothing but the preservation of Austria? Let us say that we want to stand as independent Slovanic communities under the government of Austria... this will give our work a genuinely Slovanic accent...³⁹

Štúr felt that the program of the Congress should be: 1) the creation of independent Slavic united states within Austria, and 2) prompt agreement to this, so that the Austrian armies might be authorized to destroy Magyar encroachments into Slovakia.

Štúr stressed Slavic independence: "If we are to assume that place in history which rightfully belongs to us by reason of our ability and strength, we must once and for all free ourselves from this intolerable foreign thralldom and gain national independence for ourselves."⁴⁰

The necessity of remaining with the Austrian cadre was crystal clear to Štúr yet he made no secret of his distrust of Austria. The Czechs felt otherwise. Because they had not been mistreated as were the Slovaks under the Magyars, they were willing to accept and abide by the vague promises of the Austrian Emperor that Slavic rights would be recognized and respected.

In return for these promises, the delegates of the Congress pledged full support to Austria in her effort to subdue the Magyars. In addition, they adopted a "Manifesto to the European Nations" which called for the following objectives:

1. That the Slavic people under Turkish rule be freed.
2. That the Magyars acknowledge the rights of the

Slovak nation, including the right of its own language.

3. That the Croatian autonomy be maintained.
4. That the Slovenians be permitted to possess their land.⁴¹

Štúr felt that the Congress was a failure, because it seemed simply to reduce the Pan-Slavic movement to an attempt to reorganize Austria in a way to satisfy the nationalism of the Slavs. The insurrection of 1848 against the Magyars had also failed. Štúr was disappointed to say the least and in the Pan-Slavic Movement was shaken. But he still cherished the hope that Slavic independence would be possible. In his despair and disillusionment, he became almost convinced that a small nation could not attain its freedom alone. Twice he had experienced having his great hopes in behalf of Pan-Slavism shaken. Now only one more possibility remained: alliance or association with Russia, for Russia alone of the Slavic nations was powerful enough to lead others to independence. This conclusion became the basic idea developed in his book, "Slavdom and the World of the Future," a work which extols the cultural, moral and political forces of the Russian Empire. It also presents a detailed program for the union of Slavs under the leadership of Russia.

HIS POLITICAL RE-ORIENTATION

In 1848 and 1849 when the Magyars under Kossuth arose in armed rebellion against Austria, demanding complete independence, the Slovaks braced themselves against a new wave of Magyarization pressures. Led by Štúr and his collaborators, they fought in their units with the Austrians and then with the Russian Armies to subdue the Magyar rebels. In return the Slovaks hoped to gain from Vienna recognition of their own national aspirations. Vienna, however, disappointed them and overlooked guaranteeing their rights against the encroachment of the Magyars. Furthermore, influenced by Kollár, the imperial court used the antiquated Biblical Czech of the Protestants as the official Slovak language in the translation of the laws, for instruction in the schools, and in the newly established newspaper sponsored by the government,

"Slovak News" ("Slovenské Noviny"), published in Vienna. The fruits of Štúr's labors seemed doomed and at this point he turned with greater hope to Russia.

The Revolution that erupted in Paris in February 1848, and reverberated throughout Europe, encouraged the movement in Hungary. It affected the development of Slovak life and helped to bring the Slav political program to greater maturity. Individual regions of Slovakia rebelled against the imposition of Hungarian as the only recognized legal language and strove to secure sanctions for Slovak as their official language. The native tongue of the Slovak people represented the very survival of Slovakia.

Štúr's basic concept in "Slavdom and the World of the Future" ("Das Slawenthum und die Welt der Zukunft") was an exceptional tribute to the cultural, moral and political forces at work within the Russian Empire. This work also included a detailed plan for the union of all Slavs with Russia, "the most complete and consistently developed program for the subjugation of Slavs to Russia," according to Professor Lednicki.

Štúr adopted Herder's and Hegel's ideas which in turn provided the Slavs with a consciousness of unity based upon the communal element of language and a glorious destiny, proclaiming them as the prospective leaders of Europe. Štúr stressed the belief that the Slavs have a mission to fulfill in universal history, and that this mission can be fulfilled only if they are united. There were three procedures to consider:

1. Slavic federation without Russia.
2. Transformation of Austria into a Slavic federation.
3. Union with Russia as a monarchic empire under Russian leadership, united in the Orthodox Church and the Russian literary language.

The first two approached did not appeal to Štúr's vision of a Slavic world of the future. Because of geographical features and considerations, internal rivalries, religious and cultural differences, and intermingled non-Slavic elements, any attempt to federalize the Slavic nations at this time seemed doomed to failure.⁴²

Since the Slavs were to be leaders of the "new" Europe, Štúr set out to determine whether the Slavs really

had a role of their own to fulfill in world history. At this point they were not in position to do anything significant but history was a progression of spent nations being replaced by young one, and Štúr envisioned a future in which Slavic emancipation would eventually occur.

There was no use in looking to the West for support in securing Slovakia's self-determination for, the West was already on the downward path to moral, political and social dissolution. Western civilization had deteriorated, the West itself needed help. Only Slavs could aid the Slavs.

Štúr went on to paint a highly romantic picture of the Slavs, representing them as good at heart, patient, humble, kind and democratic. These were the general characteristics of all the Slavs, but especially of the Russians who were visualized as being at the apex of all the nobles features of the Slavic nations. Štúr did not know them personally. He had never been in Russia, neither had he any prolonged contact with Russians. He simply claimed that it had to be so logically, since the Russians were the leaders of the Slavs; they had to be the best Slavs. He was convinced too that unity was an absolute necessity if the Slavs were to achieve their historic mission. The only alternative left was union with Russia.⁴³

"Russia is the prime mover and the leader of our national family. Our people are but a fragment of a single nationality. They can be reborn and united into a single whole only by a elated benevolent and great Power." In Štúr's mind that power was Russia. "Let us go forth together in the spirit of our own people, under the leadership of the racial elders given to us by history."

The Slavist, Professor Petrovich maintains that "The failure of the Slovak revolution and other political demonstrations brought Štúr to the conclusion that it was useless for his people to seek its own freedom alone or in the framework of Austroslavism."⁴⁴

This definitive decision on the part of Štúr amazed contemporary experts in his Slavic world. Yet it is not hard to understand Štúr's position when one realized the facts with which Štúr had to live in the 1850's. Since his primary goal was Slavic nationalism, Slavic unity, Russia was the only leader to whom to turn since Austroslavism

failed. His main objective was the creation of a federation of independent Slavic states under the Russian leadership, the same kind of action he had urged at the Prague Congress in 1848 for Austrian leadership.

The Slavic peoples of the Austrian Empire, such as Czechs and Slovaks, and the smaller groups looked more and more toward Russia for help, since they found themselves outnumbered by the ruling Germans and Magyars.

A second Pan-Slav Congress met in Moscow in 1867. The Poles were not represented. They considered the Russians their national enemies and oppressors. Russian chauvinism was apparent throughout the congress. From that time on Russian nationalists wished to use Pan-Slavism as a tool for Russian expansion at the expense of non-Russian Slavs for the destruction of the Austrian Empire and the Turkish Empire. Both Empires contained large Slavic minorities.

The Russian war against Turkey in 1877 was accompanied by Pan-Slavic agitation to liberate the Balkan Slavs, especially the Bulgarians, from the Turkish domination.

World War I also started partly because the Russians supported the Slavic Serbs against the Austrian Empire.

The fact that Russia herself oppressed several Slavic peoples—the Poles, the Ukrainians, and the Byelorussians—and the fact that the Russian tsarist autocracy was politically and socially backward militated before 1914 against the claim of the Russians to be regarded as the spokesmen of all Slavs.⁴⁵

All the peoples, with the exception of the Croatsians, Slovenians and Serbs were united under Moscow's leadership, and thus many of the extravagant Russian aspirations, voiced during the Pan-Slav Congress in Moscow, in 1867, were fulfilled.⁴⁶ Štúr's great dream of a family of Slavic peoples united under Russia may also become a reality—but not under an Orthodox Church as a dedicated community, nor under an enlightened Russian Tsar with humanist and liberal views, nor as a Russian group struggling for the highest ideals of freedom and respect for human beings, as Štúr wished to see it in his work "*Das Slawenthum und die Welt der Zukunft*" ("Slavdom and the World of the Future"), but under a disastrous

policy, the cornerstone of which was laid at Yalta in February, 1945.

This policy destroyed Europe's individuality and enlarged the power of the Kremlin, a power that has kept all humanity under constant tension since 1945 and is a threat to the freedom of all the states it has not yet captured. It led to the subjugation of an additional 200 million Europeans. On the soil in Northern, Central and Southern Europe, there arose a new Soviet colonial system.

At a time when in the free world, peoples who have never enjoyed self-government in the past are gradually attained nationhood and are assisted by the United Nations in the achievement of their rightful aspiration—the exact reverse process has been taking place in Central and Eastern Europe.⁴⁷

ŠTÚR'S IMPACT ON SLOVAKIA

Revival of Slovak National Life

Štúr knew it was imperative that the Slovaks be awakened nationally; otherwise they were doomed as a nation. The nation needed scholars who would delve into antiquity and from the glory of the past raise a national enthusiasm and groundwork on which to build for the future. He assumed the task of providing them. The Slovak historian, Július Botto, says of Štúr: "He trained for the Slovak nation energetic, selfless men, genuine national heroes."

Since the Slovak gentry continued to yield its national identity and was overshadowed and even absorbed by Magyar influences, the Slovak people became abandoned in the midst of a rising alien nationalism and political transformation. Slovak intellectuals had the vision to realize what was happening and considered it mandatory to take over the culture of the Slovak peasants, middle classes and a sparse number of nationally minded aristocrats and garner from these elements their own national culture and new national consciousness. Without Štúr's important role in this effort, the Slovaks might now be a forgotten nation.

Štúr successfully organized his literary school and cultural activities in this climate and was successful in

bringing about a new era of Slovak national life. Since he had a mystical idea of the nation, and respected it as a person, his approach was a philosophical one. Aesthetic and philosophical principles were inaugurated into his literary school and became the foundation of the Slovak nation revival of the nineteenth century.

In the past, Slovak national life was little more than a conglomerate of regrets and passive laments, a life of hapless "do nothing." Štúr set up positive perspectives to create higher cultural and political values and he did not rest until the people were persuaded to adopt these new views. He repeatedly advocated a higher and stronger degree of national pride. He asked the Slovaks not to seek the source of their national pride in foreign gardens since they had it right at home in their midst.

Štúr and his school knew what hopes were directed toward attaining concrete political and social gains; he realized how ready his people were to entertain enthusiasm and spirit for a better world.

National and Slavistic themes permeate Štúr's poetry and prose. The soul of the nation—or of the Slavs—was his constant subject; he was always preoccupied with the nation's sufferings, struggles and failures. These topics are the substance of all his written works.

The Slovaks, as Hans Kohn rightly says, "feeling abandoned in Hungary and their national existence threatened, may have drawn strength and faith in the indestructibility of the Slovak people and language." This thought supported them and enabled them to continue to maintain contacts with the cultural life of other Slavic peoples.

Although Štúr was not the only leader during the national revival, he embodied more vitally than did the others the true spirit of 1848. In his own right he is called the Daniel O'Connell of Slovak history. At this point it was not only necessary for the Slovak nation to map out definite goals, but it was also imperative to chart the way for coming generations of the Slovak nation in order that this goal might be realized and preserved.

The task challenging Štúr and his followers was very complicated. Besides honoring, they had to find a way and means to discharge all the work before them in a way

that would be worthy of scrutiny both in their own day and in the light of history. Much of their work had to be accomplished under duress, when revolutionary forces were mounting, when fierce struggles had to be met to insure national existence and the ennobling of the social stratum of the Slavic people. Štúr's generation had no alternative, but to play the role of a vanguard of the Slovak bourgeoisie which had to be inspired with national consciousness and formed into a worthy class. The group voluntarily assuming this role is called the Štúr generation; in literature it is called the Štúr school, since it was Ľudovít Štúr and his group who adopted the traditions of the Bernolákians for the Slovak linguistic cultural and national independence. In short, they gave the Slovak nation both a solid ideology and definite direction under the leadership of Ľudovít Štúr.⁴⁸

Ľudovít Štúr's activities were directed mainly on behalf of his native country, his main interest being the Slovak people caught in an insufferably miserable situation and desperately needing a solution of their problems. He threw all his efforts into achieving a social and national awakening of his people and into raising their standards so that they could be counted as a social and national force.

In the memorable Bratislava parliament of 1847, he tangled in a heated discussion with Kossuth. Štúr declared: "We want freedom. It is easily said that there is plenty of freedom in our homeland: yes, not only an abundance, but even an oversupply of freedom." And he went on to add, "but only the landowner's brand of freedom; for of the real, human and personal freedom there is very little. If our towns had had more freedom, our people would never have fallen into such thralldom."

Kossuth's reply to this was: "That cannot be helped; that is the way the world moves. It is the fate of one who stands lower in the community to be suppressed and bear the burden and taxes; on the other hand, the one who comes along better in civic life receives rights and stands in honor. At this time I am opposed to granting towns a vote in our Assembly."

Štúr could not be silenced. Again he met Kossuth in the Hungarian Assembly and said: "Recently when I was

present here and mentioned the sorrowful plight of the wretched taxpayers, the worthy deputy of Pest County, Mr. Kossuth, saw the hand of fate in the oppression of the people and said that is the way of the world when the lower class is suppressed and the higher class arrogates more rights to itself. I see no hand of fate in the matter, because then the status of the oppressed could never be corrected. We demand freedom in the country and the assignment of urbanial jobs which are not in line with freedom. Does a person who works, who works for the benefit of others and receives contempt instead of reward, have a fatherland? Will such a person become as devoted to his country as he would be to his mother? The sacred cause of mankind challenges us to declare the principle of the liberation of people and honestly bring it into reality. When this redemption is accomplished, the judicial power of the landowner and the country gentry must cease, because freedom would not be served if a people liberated from the robot would continue to remain under the staves of the Lords." ⁴⁹

Štúr's main aspiration was freedom. If his only achievement had been his effort for the rights of the enslaved and subjugated at the Bratislava Assembly, he would have deserved to be honored among the most distinguished sons of the Slovak nation. But he did not only that but even more and because of this fact he is loved and revered by the Slovak nation.

In him were concentrated the cultural and social endeavors of his predecessors, with the strength and courage needed for a living national organization. Without his concentration the pursuits of an independent national culture would have been impossible. His greatest merit lies in the fact that he assumed the historical task of uniting the multi-cultural strength of the Slavs into a national liberation front.

A legendary atmosphere was built around the magnetic personality of Štúr by those who knew him. Around him there crystallized, as it were, a veritable aura of national life as is reported by William Paulíny Toth who said of him: "Ludovít Štúr is favored epochally as a created vision in the history of the Slovak Nation." ⁵⁰

Štúr in his time understood that the Slovak national process had matured and that Slovakia must appear on the scene of history as an independent political factor. It is in this foresight also that Štúr's merit lies. He exemplifies the Slovak national spirit as a man possessed with deep convictions and great strength of will sufficient to execute them. His prime purpose, as we have already mentioned, was to see Slovakia united culturally, politically and socially.

We must recall for our own benefit and on behalf of the free world that Štúr did not hesitate to accept and carry to completion the work of preceding Catholic generations; he was ready to press on in order to preserve the heritage of the Slovak nation, though he was not a Catholic, but a Lutheran and a member of the Protestant Evangelical Church.

*Contributions as an Energizing Stimulant
to Slovak Life in General*

It can be said with assurance that in the history of the Slovak nation, no individual accomplished as much in so short a time as did Ľudovít Štúr, who was only forty-one years of age when he died. This was possible only because of the gifts of this phenomenal leader and because of the fact that the ground and the time were ripe for the ascension of a new generation. Štúr found that he could approve of much that already existed in Slovakia and he was ready to formulate what the nation needed and demanded in his day.

One wonders how it was possible at this critical time for a man to dare to undertake structuring a spiritual foundation of modern life for the long slighted and forgotten Slovak people. Though we cannot understand the force that inspired him we can appreciate the phenomenon that in one generation, only one extraordinary person, one Ľudovít Štúr, appeared as a great leading luminary among approximately two million of his people.

It goes without saying that the Slovak people are grateful to Štúr and to those who sacrificed much with him for the Slavic cause. Their work was aimed toward the realization of the spiritual plan of Slovak life envisioned by genius and inspiration.

The Slovak nation was not fortunate enough at this time to have a long and cherished tradition or the advantage of experienced mature people on which to rely. Over long centuries of oppression under a foreign element, it was their fate to be wholly submissive and in this attitude to develop no leaders. Now they had to rely entirely on comparatively young men for new ideas and new leadership. The Slovak youth was entrusted with the new dawn and to project future goals, because the difficult life of the Slovaks in the past did not allow the elders to foster a strong national life. While many other European nations had their noble classes to fight their battles and to lead them to new eras, the Slovaks had no social upper strata on which to rely for inspiration. Their nobility and their middle class as well were lost by fusion with other elements predominantly Magyar milieu. Slovak national awakening consequently was achieved by the sons of humble people, usually the strong leaders from among the Catholic and Protestant clerical circles.

The Slovak language as a literary medium which was chosen by Ľudovít Štúr and his collaborators was accepted by the Slovak population in 1843. Under his dynamic leadership the Slovaks literally re-emerged from obscurity and oblivion. They asserted themselves not only culturally but also politically by their participation in the uprising in 1848-49. During this revolutionary upheaval they sided with the Emperor in Vienna but were ill-rewarded for their services. Their repeated petitions for self-determination and for guarantees of unhindered cultural development were repeatedly denied them.⁵¹

In 1867, when the Austrians concluded a dual agreement with the Magyars, the Slovaks were left at the mercy of the Magyars. Under this arrangement, Slovak high schools and cultural organizations were suppressed. Education on an elementary level was permitted in the Magyar language only. Any who dared to resist magyarization were victimized and imprisoned. Thousands of Slovaks found it necessary to leave their native country and migrated to the United States of America.

Ľudovít Štúr and his generation fired the Slovaks with new national life, a clear goal and a firm sense of direction

in the spirit of Štúr's slogan: "Backward we cannot go, Forward we must!"

"Forward" means to free the people from the yoke of slavery and lead them along the road of independence and true national cultural growth within a truly free country. To achieve this the Slovak nation needs a political program. The cataclysm of the Revolution of 1848 that struck Europe impelled the Slovaks to develop their political program without further hesitation or delay.

The Slovaks reassessed their aims, and aspirations as well as prevailing circumstances. Since Slovakia was part of the Hungarian State, they wished primarily to have the boundaries of the Slovak lands clearly defined in order that they might have guaranteed equality with the Magyars living in Hungary.

The Magyars opposed the justified petitions of the Slovak nation. They banned all Slovak assemblies and treated Slovak leaders as traitors deserving imprisonment.

When the Slovaks perceived what obstacles their political program met with in Hungary, they resorted to arms against the Magyars who themselves were engaged in a rebellion against the Emperor. The Slovak rebellion in 1848-49 ended indecisively. The Russian army was asked to help subdue the revolting Magyars and absolute rule was imposed in the country. The Magyars were punished and the Slovaks were forgotten.⁵²

The Slovaks renewed their political activity in 1861. They detailed their principles in newspapers and later called an assembly at Turčiansky Sv. Martin where they formulated a renewed Slovak policy within the comprehensive "Memorandum of the Slovak Nation." They asked that the Slovaks be permitted the right to develop their own life without restriction. They asked that they be recognized as a nation by a special proclamation, and that Slovakia constitute a distinctive administrative unit in Hungary. These petitions were submitted to Emperor Franz Josef (1849-1916). The only concession granted to the Slovaks was permission to establish a cultural institute called "Matica Slovenská" ("The Slovak Institute"). They were also allowed to use private funds to build three high schools for the education of Slovak youth.

The position of the Slovaks grew steadily worse in Hungary. Feeling the pressure of denationalization at every step, they did not stop pledging their allegiance to Hungary. All these attempts even at appeasement proved futile. The Hungarian Parliament passed legislation which suppressed Slovak life yet not even these adversities broke the Slovak nation, for the Slovaks believed "That truth has never yet suffered in vain, nor will our Slovak truth suffer needlessly," according to the prophetic dictum of Andrej Hlinka in 1907 spoken as he was being led to prison.⁵³

ŠTÚR IN CONTEMPORARY HISTORIC PERSPECTIVE

Practicality of Štúr's Ideals

Ľudovít Štúr's role in the revival of Slovak national life was far reaching and vitally important. As a reformer of the Slovak literary medium he contributed to modern national Slovak ideology. He gave his people a new perspective and vision of political freedom and of a better future. His writings provided a powerful impetus to Slovak life in general.

His manifold contributions to the Slovak national revival were not limited to Slovakia alone, but to the over-all Slavic world, since Slovakia and the Slovak people are a part of the Slavic world. Neither is his greatness only by the role he played at the first Slavic Congress in Prague, but also by his rich correspondence with all outstanding Slavic leaders, as well as his work "Slavdom and the World of the Future" which was translated and published twice by Russian intellectuals in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Štúr's school of thought laid the foundation for the self-determination of Slovakia more than a century ago. Even in the present the Slovaks are building upon this foundation. They will keep on pressing their point and cherishing their hope of success until they do attain complete freedom from all foreign domination. Just as Štúr had defied and condemned the hegemony of the Magyars and the materialistic philosophy of Marx and Engels, so do they hope in this day to overcome all obstacles to true freedom.

The followers of Štúr made the entire nation their concern. They applied themselves to improve the country's economy; they did their utmost to wipe out alcoholism, indifference, and illiteracy; they labored unceasingly to arouse national consciousness in more ways than one.

The people at large responded and co-operated generously when Štúr began to publish his "Slovenské Národné Noviny" ("Slovak National News") which had great influence on the thinking of the common people. Štúr's articles recalled the heritage of the Slovak people, the glory of its language, morals, customs, and its homeland—which unites the nation as a whole and constrains it to press forward towards attaining the goal of unity.

It was necessary to make the nation feel that someone was supporting it and was concerned about its welfare. The people had to be dealt with humanely. This applied to individuals as well as to groups.

The Slovaks were threatened with complete annihilation, hence Štúr had to appeal to the mind, the feelings and the very character of the nation. Without first uniting this nation he could gain nothing. The Šturists envisioned their task as not the conversion of renegades, but the instruction of the people to help themselves, to recognize and to fight for their God-given rights.

Štúr's newspaper served all classes of people to some degree—the intelligentsia, the laborer, the peasant, the minister of the Gospel, the merchant and the tradesman. The Slovaks did rouse themselves to national consciousness. Without effective journalism of the type provided by Štúr it would have been impossible to unite the Slovaks in so short a time.

Štúr and his collaborators were realists. They encouraged and exhorted the people to better themselves by overcoming indolence and ignorance. They provided and encouraged private enterprise and more efficient ways of doing things in all fields of endeavor.

The school problem was a factor of great concern to Štúr and his coterie. They indicated the necessity of cultivating the native language, the importance of enlightenment, the value of reading centers, libraries, sound agricultural programs, progress in industrial and financial enterprise,

revision in tax scales, improvement in animal husbandry and many other subjects. Temperance societies were promoted as were cultural and social institutions. Many Štúr followers taught Sunday school classes. This innovation of Štúr was probably the most interesting of all movements in Slovakia. Štúr and his followers were not dreamers; they were practical idealists who had the welfare and security of the Slovak people at heart.⁵⁴

Štúr's school of thought built the foundation for the independence movement as well. With the help of his co-workers Štúr's literary school to a great extent fulfilled the function of a political and military leadership, thereby elevating the Slovak people to the cultural level of the rest of Europe. For these achievements Štúr's progressive pedagogical heritage shall continue to live among us for a long time. His practical and wise suggestions, his courage, his vision, selflessness, his many precedents which could be used and developed in our day serve as an undying example for future generations of Slovaks, inspiring them to work for their country's freedom, independence and recognition. At the same time future generations are challenged to keep alive the flame of the torch which was passed to them by Štúr's unfaltering hope of a better world on the morrow.

Despite Štúr's comparatively youthful age, his cultural and social activities were many-sided and diversified. Slovaks in the free world can gain much by a study of his works.

Because Štúr and his co-workers were human, they naturally made some mistakes. However, their mistakes were those of the century in which they lived. It behooves us to judge them according to the fruit of their labor, the results of their work which brought a new perspective to the Slovak nation.

Štúr can rightly be numbered among the outstanding European revolutionaries of his time. He was a great apostle of democracy and freedom for all people.

The shining light among the Slovaks of the nineteenth century, the formulator of their political and social program, as well as the interpreter of their national desires was Ľudovít Štúr—the Father of modern Slovak nationalism.⁵⁵

*Application of Štúr's Theories
in Subsequent Slovak History*

The evolution of Slovak national life and the role of Ľudovít Štúr in its development are mutually inclusive. Once one delves into a study of Štúr's life work, he becomes permanently fascinated with it and cannot be shed the charm of this genial creator of modern national Slovak ideology.

Štúr was endowed with extraordinary creativity and originality of concepts. Only a genius could create works of lasting value which survive long after his death. It is only natural that we return to Štúr and find support in him. He is an incentive to future generations to do even better things than he did. However, to date, he ranks as one of the most outstanding Slovaks of all time.

Slovakia is grateful to many Slovak leaders who sacrificed everything for the nation. But most of these also worked for the realization of the spiritual plan of Slovak life which was spelled out and left to us by Štúr and his co-workers. They gave expression to the righteous desires of the Slovak nation and became the unsurpassed model in spiritual and civic activity.⁵⁶

For more than a century, nothing new nor shaking has appeared than that which was expressed by Štúr for the Slovak nation. Hence it behooves us to return to him, because it is evident that every new and great plan of Slovak life must first pass the aqua regia test of Štúr's thinking. The aims of the Slovak nation which were conceived by Štúr are still the criteria of the life of the Slavic people. Whatever counters Štúr also runs counter to the vital interest of the Slovak nation.

Štúr's words: "Let us not abandon ourselves, Slovak fellow citizens!" is just as timely today as they were in 1845. He was a man ahead of his time. His philosophical views, his democratic thinking, his principles and his social demands are timely, too. It is necessary for our generation to recognize the fact that the Slovaks over one hundred years ago fought to change the political structure of Central Europe, that they demanded a deserved independent status for their nation within the framework of a solid federation built on principles of justice and equity.

Great ideas may be temporarily suppressed and silenced, but in the end they will triumph. That accounts for the inability of the enemies within and without the Slovak nation to destroy the concept of individuality of the Slovak nation, its language, culture and its right to an independent life. Even today after a lapse of more than a hundred years, this idea is very much alive.

Despite the fact that Pan-Slavism did not achieve any notable results during Štúr's time, it nevertheless had inherent value. For the first time it revealed the Slavic mind to the rest of Europe. This is important in the light of the present role which the Slavs play in Europe today.

The Prague Congress too proved significant by reason of the fact it was the first expression of Slavic unity, of Slavic identity, distinct from the Hapsburg rule. It imbued the Slavs with greater courage and confidence and a guide for the future action. *Slavdom and the World of Future* is today a relatively unknown work, even in the Slavic world. Yet it had exerted great influence on Russian thinking in the 1870's and was a beacon light and incentive to furthering their program and goals.

At the time of Štúr's death in 1856, the whole Pan-Slavic movement was pretty much a failure. It failed because the very nationalism that it promoted led to its defeat. Pan-Slavism created dissent among the various Slav nations because it pressured national consciousness. The more the people became aware of their individuality, their historical traditions, and their language, the less they wanted to sacrifice them for a non-existent Slav federation. Another hindering factor was the centuries-old and traditional antagonism between the various Slavic nations, such as the Poles and the Russians, Czechs and Slovaks, Croatians and Serbs, prevented any success for a plan that would unite them. Hence Pan-Slavism was hindered from exercising any dominant or stable influence on European thought at that time.⁵⁷

For two decades after World War I Pan-Slavism seemed dead. The Western Slavs—the Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Croatians, Slovenes and Serbs—established their own states in 1918. They looked more to the West than to Moscow for guidance and inspiration. After the German

aggression against Soviet Russia in the summer of 1941, Joseph Stalin revived Pan-Slavism for the duration of the war and appealed for the support of all Slavic peoples.

The Soviet Union again discarded Pan-Slavism after World War II. It was under the aegis of Communism rather than Pan-Slavism that the U.S.S.R. established control over the Western and Southern Slavic peoples in the post war period.

Štúr's vision of a unified Slovak cultural, political and social life did not indicate that he was a mere visionary. After a century of struggle there exists a Slovak nation with its own literature and cultural institutions and it is a strongly literate one. There also exists a sound national consciousness and a wholesome social stratification, which is unbalanced only by the unfortunate present Communist regime. The new generation is imbued with a spirit of national and social justice among Central European peoples and constantly resists Communistic ideology, about which Ľudovít Štúr wrote more than a century ago:

"Communism not only commits outrageous injustice against all civil society . . . it also ruins all personal initiative, endeavor and enthusiasm. It divides the family, it destroys the household and thus it opens wide the door to every type of immorality, dissolution, and indulgence. It degrades man to bestial level . . .

"Communism has matured to the same degree as atheism and defection from Christianity . . . In all types of Communism whatever their classification may be, the outlook is only toward a dismal life. It brings in its wake despotism of the grossest kin. It shatters all bonds of social living. In place of holy ties, it offers profiteering, rioting and their like."

Today when our mighty nation is fighting for freedom of all enslaved and oppressed nations, this freedom must not be overlooked for Slovakia. The Slovaks of today still have the inherent and God given rights to complete freedom as do all other nations. To fight for the freedom of all nations, including Slovakia, is the obligation of all lovers of truth and freedom. The Slovaks have existed and will continue to exist if they live and remember Štúr's words: "Let us not abandon ourselves, Slovak fellow citizens!"

Today a foreign regime in Slovakia is persecuting and crushing all that Štúr stood for, because it is above all else concerned with the extermination of the Slovak traditions which in his time Ľudovít Štúr had recreated and reformed in such a manner that they remain in permanent basis of Slovak national development. The spirit of Štúr lives on!

One can kill a man but never the idea he stands for. In history there are myriad examples of movements, faiths and ideologies triumphant "in spite of dungeon, fire and sword." The Slovak nation did not give up the right to live in an independent state even if this state was forcibly liquidated, its rules killed and its adherents persecuted. All this has made the struggle for independence even more imperative, because if the idea was worth dying for, it is worth fighting for.

More than a century after his death Ľudovít Štúr is very much alive. His name is often on the lips of his followers and his opponents. Books are written about him, his policies, his philosophy, on both sides of the Iron Curtain by his friends and his enemies.

With no perceptible results to show, the situation of the Slovak nation does not look very promising today. The nation is without its state, lives in slavery but also lives in hope. There is strong evidence to indicate a living and vibrant independence movement at home where the Slovaks after an interim of partial independence are convinced that there is no substitute for complete independence. The ideology of Ľudovít Štúr is the source of strength and belief that independent Slovakia with a government "of the people, by the people, for the people" will re-appear on the map of Europe.⁵⁸

CONCLUSION

The essential part of this study dealt with the assumption that Ľudovít Štúr and his achievements have long been recognized by the Slovaks, that he is a great national figure and is revered as the "Father of Modern Slovak Nationalism." But what of his place in the history of the Slavs at this time?

Looking for Štúr's place in the Slavic world, after the passing of a century which tested many of his conceptions

and achievements, one cannot avoid some purely Slovak cultural and political issues. One cannot help but also agree with Hans Kohn's words that "the Slovak nation with its own literary language, was definitely established."⁵⁹ Štúr's manifold activities made this possible.

Since Pan-Slavism remained the primary concern of Slavic poets, newsmen, literary scholars, philologists, and historians, Slavic nationalism was far removed from the political plan and was situated in the literary field. These individuals expressed an optimistic belief in man's inevitable progress, in the spiritual rejuvenation which would result in the assurance of liberty, peace and happiness. These visionaries felt that perhaps the Slavs were heralds of a new era. They promised a unified betterment in a future Slavic world.

According to his book "Slavdom and the World of the Future" Ludovít Štúr set out to accomplish four tasks. He wanted an assurance to determine whether the Slavs really had a specific role to fulfill in world history. The Slavic past would yield an affirmative answer, for this certainty was the basis for the entire Pan-Slavic movement. Without doubt, the Slavs were to be the leaders of a "New Europe." Since history is a progression of spent nations being replaced by young and energetic ones, Slavic Emancipation and self-determination would eventually be realized. Štúr's gift of prophecy and Kollár's poetic vision of one Slav nation, language, and culture as expressed in Kollár's "Daughter of Slavs" ("Slávy dcéra"): "What will the Slavs be in a hundred years? What will the whole of Europe come to be? Slav life, just as a mighty flood appears, shall everywhere extend its boundary. The science shall Slav exponents see, our peoples' customs, dress and music on both the Seine and Danube modish be."

His second task was to describe the Slavic mission in universal history against the background of the cultural difference between Western and Eastern Europe.⁶⁰

Štúr could only visualize the destruction of the peasantry by a moral, political and social dissolution in the West and the culmination of a schism between religion and daily life. The West could do little to help, since it was gradually losing face because of its prodigality.

Western society and its institutions were not worth the effort of imitation since they were contributing to the downfall of the West. Hence the Slavs could depend only on themselves for existence.

Thirdly, Štúr presents a highly romantic picture of the Slavic peoples. They are endowed with extraordinary virtue. The West was held accountable for the vices of the Slavs who were presented as being by nature kind, patient, humble, and democratic. These characteristics were typical of all Slavs, but especially the Russians, who were the embodiment of all the best and noblest features of the entire Slav nation. Logically, he concluded, that since the Russians were to be the leaders of the Slavs, they had to be the cream of the Slavic element.⁶¹

His last task dealt with the problems of Slavic political unification. If the Slavs were to attain their goal, unity was an absolute necessity.

There were three possibilities. The first was a Slavic confederation without Russia, which could never succeed because of internal disputes among multi-Slavic peoples. These nation were of about equal strength, hence the emergence of a leader from these nations was an impossibility.

The second was the transformation of Austria into a Slavic Empire. Attempts of this nature had been made before and failed. Štúr felt that Austro-Slavism should not be considered.

The only alternative left was alliance with Russia. Since she was powerful enough to unite all the Slavic nations, she was the natural leader that was needed. Štúr was impressed by Russia's power and influence. If Slavic peoples united under Russia, their equal would be second to none in Europe.

One wonders how it came that such a decisive document was left to us by Štúr. Yet under the circumstances with which he had to contend in the 1850's it is not surprising. His primary concern was Slavic Nationalism, and Slavic unity. His interest in Russia came only as a result of this, since he never had any prolonged contact with the Russians, neither had he ever been in Russia.⁶²

After more than a century's lapse of time Štúr's big dream of a United Slavic peoples under Russia may yet

become a reality, in a strange and unfortunate nature, because of recent political developments in Central and Eastern Europe. Moscow has become a political powerhouse of the Slavic world and Russian leadership has technically materialized.

Štúr's drive and his vision of Slovak cultural, political and social betterment did not prove to be a myth either. There now exists a Slovak nation with its own literature, cultural institutions and almost universal literacy. Its people are nationally conscious and they can boast of sound social stratification, which was recently unbalanced only by the presence of an unwelcome Communist regime. They are proud of their fighting spirit for national and social justice, which was passed on them with the flame of Štúr's burning torch. There is a constant resistance among them to Communist ideology and this attitude is another legacy of Štúr's.

Over a century ago he said: "Communism not only commits outrageous injustices against all civil society... but it also ruins all personal initiative, endeavor and enthusiasm... It degrades man to a bestial level..."⁶³

Although Pan-Slavism did not achieve notable results during Štúr's time, it had an inherent value in that it revealed for the first time to the rest of Europe the Slavic mind. This is important in the light of the present role which the Slavs play in Europe.

The Prague Congress, too, was the first expression of Slavic unity and identity which was separate from the Hapsburg rule. It also gave the Slavs courage and confidence. Štúr's book, mentioned earlier in this section, has had a strong influence on Russian thinking in the 1870's and was a forerunner of some later developments.

Štúr and his followers executed their tasks beyond human expectation, for they came upon a scene of history when the situation of the Slovaks under the Magyars in Hungary seemed truly hopeless.

The significance of Ľudovít Štúr in the evolution and revival of Slovak national life is tremendous and far-reaching. His role as a reformer of the Slovak literary language greatly contributed to Slovak national ideology. It gave his people a new vision and perspective of political

freedom and of a better future. By his example and writings he provided a strong impetus to Slovak life in general.

Štúr rightfully belongs with Ján Kollár and Pavol J. Šafárik to the Slovaks of the nineteenth century who are regarded as great figures of the Slavic world, since Slovakia and its people are part of the Slavic world.

All three found willing echo in all the Slavic peoples. As Hans Kohn states: "They were imbued in the familiar mood of the period, a general belief in historical progress, in a bright future, in the advent of some great spiritual manifestation, of a new era for mankind, which would establish for ever the basis of liberty, peace, and happiness."⁶⁴

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FOOTNOTES

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- 3) Ján V. Ormis, *Bibliografia Ľudovíta Štúra* ("Štúr's Bibliography") (Turč. Sv. Martin: Matica Slovenská, 1958), p. 199.
- 4) *Ibid.*, p. 199.
- 5) Marian Žiar, "Štúr" Father of Modern Slovak Nationalism." *Slovakia*, March, 1956, pp. 8-9.
- 6) Philip A. Hrobak, "Štúr and the Slovak Independence Movement," *Slovakia*, September-December, 1956, p. 39.
- 7) Karol Goláň, "Štúrove reči na slovanskom sjazde roku 1848," ("Štúr's Lectures at the Slavic Congress of 1848,") *Slovak Views*, August-September, 1936, p. 422.
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- 16) Marian Žiar, "Štúr: Father of Modern Slovak Nationalism," Slovakia, March, 1956, p. 6.
- 17) Henrich Bartek, "Our Tradition and Ľudovít Štúr," Slovakia, June 1956, p. 4.
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- 27) Joseph Škultéty, Sto Dvadsať Päť Rokov zo Slovenského Života. 1790-1914. ("One Hundred Twenty-five Years of Slovak History") Turč. Sv. Martin: Kniž. Účast., 1920), p. 44.
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- 29) Ibidem., p. 46.
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The Assimilation Process of American Slovaks

J. M. Kirschbaum, Ph. D.

Historians and sociologists have presented the United States during the past 200 years as a vast melting pot in which immigrants from many nations and continents were supposed to become Americans and lose their identity. This belief became a part of the national consciousness of the majority of Americans and foreign scholars have accepted uncritically the idea that successive waves of immigrants have been "digested" and have become an integral part of the American nation. During the past few years, this hypothesis has been put in doubt by scholars and especially by sociologists dealing with today's America. Some of them assert that the melting pot was a romantic idea about something which happened only in the writings of historians who dealt with national ambitions and dreams and not with reality. Even 200 years after the enunciation of the melting pot idea, the ethnic groups continue to behave differently from the Anglo-Saxon element. According to recent studies, the melting pot concept extended chiefly to the political and economic spheres. In other areas, what sociologists call "structural separation," persists. In religion and in social relations, the ethnic groups resist amalgamation.

In view of this situation, the Organization of American Historians dedicated a session during its annual meeting in 1969 to the topic: "Ethnicity: A Neglected Dimension of American History." At this meeting, some scholars challenged the traditional ways of interpreting American history and came to the conclusions which brought renewed academic interest in the problems of the ethnic groups.¹

The historians were joined by sociologists and linguists and the results of their research contradicts to a great degree the idea of a melting pot and monolithic structure of the American nation. They found out that even Americans of western European origin (German, Norwegian,

Swedish, Irish, etc.) continue to this very day to recognize their ancestry and to partially define themselves in accordance with it. "For reasons that are not really well understood, these groups have not lost themselves entirely within their American surroundings even after three, four, or more generations, although they have had every opportunity to do so."² The ethnic groups preserved, however, not only the awareness of their European ancestry and cultural heritage, but many of them maintained the languages spoken by their fathers and fore-fathers. As a result, the idea of ethnicity and of language maintenance in America is becoming of interest not only to scholars but also to other Americans. "That third and subsequent generations frequently continue to think of themselves in partially ethnic terms and frequently maintain positive attitudes and interests with respect to the heritage of their grandparents, became a significant fact in American life."³

Prof. Fishman in the recent book *Language Loyalty in the United States* which he edited together with several American scholars, deals especially with the maintenance and perpetuation of non-English mother tongues of American ethnic and religious groups. Through thorough research, Fishman and a group of American scholars came to startling results about present-day America. They also mention Slovaks and in view of the possibility that the statistics confused again Czechs and Slovaks, the new generation of Slovaks educated at American universities should carry out genuine research into the problems of the Slovak ethnic group in the United States.

According to Fishman, the assimilation process of the Slovaks proceeds much faster than that of many other ethnic groups. They have assimilated much faster than, for instance, Poles, Magyars, Ukrainians, or Germans. According to the census data, there were 274,948 Slovaks in 1920 who were not born in the United States, whereas in 1940 only 171,580 and 125,000 in 1960. As for Slovaks born in the United States, the 1920 statistics show 344,918 as against 283,520 in 1940 and 125,000 in 1960, which means a considerable decrease from decade to decade. The number of Slovaks born in America who gave their mother tongue

as Slovaks, according to the censuses of 1920 and 1940 is again percentagewise much smaller than in the case of other Slavs or even Magyars.

The maintenance of mother tongues or the admission of Slovak parentage declines among the children of Slovak parents from generation to generation, according to American statistics. Thus the process of assimilation seems to be much stronger among Slovaks than among Poles, Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Magyars or Germans. For instance, in 1960, 125,000 first generation Slovaks claimed their mother tongue as Slovak. The same number of second generation Slovaks appear in the statistics, but in the third generation, only 10,000 Americans born to Slovak parents claimed Slovak as their mother tongue. As a result, only 260,000 persons born in the United States claimed in 1960 to be of Slovak origin or admitted that their mother tongue was Slovak. The total number of foreign and native born persons who claimed Slovak as their mother tongue was 484,360 in 1940 and only 260,000 in 1960.⁴

The decrease or assimilation process among Slovaks in the United States is best shown by the following comparison with other central European immigrants:

Slovaks decreased by 46.3%

Poles decreased by 9.6%

Serbs and Croats decreased by 10.8%

Ukrainians increased by 202.6%

Prof. Fishman carefully mentions that mother tongue data on natives of foreign or mixed parentage does not necessarily reflect the real number of people born in the individual ethnic groups. Some demographic and some non-demographic factors account for the fact that some Americans of non Anglo-Saxon origin did not reveal their ethnic origin and mother tongue. Among the factors were a) "the varying prestige of the mother tongue both among its own speakers and among Americans in general," and b) the social mobility experienced by the second generation. Where the prestige of a particular mother tongue was low, and where the social mobility of its prospective claimants was high, it is likely the language less frequently

became the mother of American-born (second generation) offspring and was even less frequently claimed as such. "Unfortunately," concludes Fishman, "no census-type data are available on either of these variables and it has been necessary to study them by other means."⁵

Generally, the immigrants from Central and Eastern Europe preserved their language and cultural heritage much better than immigrants from other parts of the European Continent. In the case of Slovaks, the statistics show that in spite of the greater number of parishes, organizations and newspapers compared to some other ethnic groups from Central Europe had in the past decades, the assimilation process was much stronger.

As far as the mother tongue maintenance is concerned, American Slovaks are in twelfth place among the 23 ethnic groups in 1969, but for the period 1940-1960 in the 15th place. They are far ahead of Magyars, Russians, Poles, Croats, or Serbians in their integration into the Anglo-Saxon language group.

There are no statistics about the number of Slovak newspapers and periodicals since these were shown under "other Slavic Groups" which includes Slovenes, Croatians, and Serbians. The statistics also show that the number of Slovaks is inferior during some decades to the number of Czechs and this could lead to the conclusion that the census takers may have confused the Czechs with Slovaks and vice-versa, as it happened according to the official admission in the Canadian census of 1961.

The statistics quoted above and used in Fishman's book have been derived from U. S. Census of Population 1960: General Social and Economic Characteristics, United States Summary, Final Report PC (1)-1C.⁶ The statistics do not add, however, correctly and they seem to be at odds with unofficial statistics and numbers of Slovaks who are at the present time organized in Slovak organizations in the United States. Although generally only 15 to 20% of Americans or Canadians of East European origin are members of their fraternal or socio-cultural associations, the number of Slovaks organized in the United States amounted in 1969 to well over 450,000 according to the

Secretary of the Slovak League of America, Joseph Paučo, Ph. D.

In addition to this membership, we have to take into consideration social clubs and church organizations, as well as cultural centres which have been organized within Slovak Catholic and Protestant parishes or in larger American cities, and whose members are only partly organized in the fraternal Slovak organizations. According to Dr. Paučo, there is almost at each parish such a club or church organization and half of its membership does not belong to any Slovak fraternal organization. Since there are over 400 parishes in the United States, and taking into account that Slovak families are usually very large, counting five members as a minimum, Dr. Paučo, as a long time Secretary of the Federation of Slovak Organizations in the United States, the Slovak League of America, assumes that the number of Americans of Slovak origin who to a great degree are still conscious of their ethnic background, amount to approximately two million.⁷

However, if the official statistics are correct, then we cannot but come to the conclusion that the assimilation process of Slovaks is much stronger than we are willing to admit. On the other hand, if the statistics can be doubted, then there is only one remedy; the educated Slovaks whose numbers are not negligible, should begin a thorough research into the problems of American Slovaks. Their task will be now much easier than a few years ago since a joint commission of the Organization of American Historians and the American Historical Association issued a statement on the writing and teaching of American history in the text books, stressing the fact that American ethnic difference must be "faithfully portrayed." Also many other things reveal that a new tide of ethnic studies is at hand. The first sign is the growing interest of publishers and, second, new scholarship efforts are growing in American universities.

The renewed interest in ethnic Americans was underscored by the Ford Foundation which announced in New York a new program of fellowships to encourage scholarships in the field of ethnic studies. A national award of \$288,052.00 will go to 87 doctoral candidacies at 58 graduate

schools for the writing of dissertations on subjects dealing with the experience and culture of ethnic minorities in the United States. "The new program is designed to help stimulate the development of a body of knowledge on the history and culture of the nation's ethnic minorities, which is already becoming a subject of intense interest to a new generation of American students," according to F. Champion Ward, the Foundation's Vice-President for Higher Education and Research.⁸

- 1) International Migration Review, an article by Dean Cincl, p. 58-63.
- 2) See Fishman et al, Language Loyalty in the United States (Mouton & Co., The Hague), 1966.
- 3) Fishman, op. c. p. 31.
- 4) Fishman, ibid. p. 44. This figure should read 415,000 because Fishman shows 125,000 for foreign born (p. 36) and 260,000 for native born (p. 42).
- 5) Ibid., p. 40.
- 6) Published in Washington, D. C., by U. S. Government Printing Office, 1965.
- 7) Personal letter by Dr. Paučo dated December 8, 1970.
Dr. Paučo's estimate of the number of Slovaks in the United States is corroborated also by the figures on the emigration from Slovakia to the United States published recently by the Slovak Academy of Sciences. In the years 1880-1890, 122,479 persons left Slovakia for the United States; in the years 1901-1910, 215,292 persons, and in the years 1850-1921 529,949 persons; altogether 867,720 persons left for the United States. Even if it is true that many of these persons returned after two or three years spent in the United States, the statistics justify the estimate that about two million Americans are of Slovak origin.
- 8) The New York Times, November 27, 1970, page L. 41.

* * *

THE SLOVAK LEAGUE OF AMERICA heartily commends all efforts of our governmental and other organs to ferret out and unmask all Communists and fellow travelers, as well as all persons and organizations who wittingly or unwittingly give aid and comfort to the conspiracy of Communism promoted by the Soviet Union.

The Slovak National Awakening

By Edward A. Tuleya

Since the Congress of Vienna in 1815 democratic principles and nationalism had been suppressed by the joint efforts of the great powers. However, by 1848 the dream of freedom could no longer be contained, and throughout the continent of Europe, except for Russia, the revolution spread. Revolts in Palermo, Paris, Vienna, and Prague were like huge cannon aimed to destroy the fortress of reaction.¹ The time that Prince Metternich feared had come, and on March 14th he was forced to flee Vienna. Hope for the oppressed ran high.² Within the framework of the Austrian Empire dissatisfied nations now saw the opportunity to gain rights which had long been denied them.

Magyars Would Deny Others Freedom

Napoleon's downfall had created a dilemma for Vienna and she reacted by adopting a policy which relegated the Slavs to an inferior status within the Empire, especially those living in Hungary. The Russian more than any other army was responsible for the defeat of Napoleon. Gratitude quickly gave way to suspicion as to what the Russian Tsar might do now that he had the strongest fighting force in Europe. Vienna feared that Russia would use her power to back up the demands of the Slav nations in Empire, for the improvement of their political position or more alarming for breaking away from Hapsburg control. Instead of turning to a rational policy for her Slav subjects, she opted for a diametrical course by seeking the co-operation of the Magyars who were in complete sympathy with Vienna, at least on that overriding issue. Vienna gave the Magyars more than tacit support to do whatever was necessary in Hungary to preserve the Empire's internal security. What the Magyars had in mind was something more, greater independence from Vienna. For centuries the Magyars ruled a population three fourths of which was made up of non-Magyar peoples, such as Germans, Slovaks, Croats, Serbs,

Ruthenians, and Rumanians. But the Magyar leaders had no sympathy for others when the latter called for equal rights.³

Thus, while the Magyars were pressing Vienna for more rights, the non-Magyar nations were being refused those very same rights and others by the Magyars.⁴ The lot of the subject races in Hungary was difficult, particularly for the Slovaks, a Slavic people, numbering close to three million and living in northern Hungary. Unlike the Croats, Serbs, and Rumanians, the Slovaks did not enjoy favor in Vienna, representation in Parliament, nor the right to cultivate their own language.⁵

It was not, however, until the end of the eighteenth century that the Magyars began to accelerate the Magyarization of the Slovaks and other non-Magyar nations. The greatest contributing factor to their plan was Joseph II's policy to centralize and Germanize the Empire. In 1784 Joseph II ordered that in place of the dead language, Latin, German would be the official language in Hungary. From that time on there was a strong reawakening of the people.⁶ "Just as the encroachments of German had awakened the susceptibilities of the Magyars", writes A. Patterson, "so did the encroachments of Hungarian (Magyar) awaken those of the Croats and Slovaks."⁷

Effect of Joseph's Policy on Magyarization

The policy of Joseph II, instead of unifying the Empire through Germanization, only aroused the subject nations to take further steps to defend their national identity.⁸ The awakened spirit affected the Magyar nationalists to adhere to the belief that the security of Hungary as a Magyar nation could only be assured if all its inhabitants were Magyars.⁹ In opposition to this, Michael Hodža, ardent fighter for Slovak people, exclaimed, "We don't want Magyar as our language. If you fought against Germanization of Joseph II, we also fight against your Magyarization."¹⁰ Therefore, the Slovaks who had enjoyed some linguistic tolerance were now to feel the pains of a denaturalization program. Lack of concern on the part of the Magyars and their feeling of superiority and arrogance can be best expressed in a Magyar proverb: "Toth ember nem ember." (The Slovak is not a man).¹¹

The first Magyarization laws were passed in 1791-92 by the County councils.¹² For several years the laws were poorly enforced and not too much concern was paid to the activities of the non-Magyar groups or their resistance to assimilation. This apathy, however, was not the rule in all quarters. In some cities in Hungary it was calculated that in 1798 the Magyar and the Slovak population was equal, and because of the manner in which the Germans had been absorbed by the Slovaks, the Magyars could not expect a better fate.¹³ Reaction to this fear took different forms on the part of the Magyars. In many cases Magyar priests unable to speak Slovak were sent to Slovak churches. In the village of Ľudovillovo-Komárno police were posted outside the doors of the church to keep the people from leaving. Those who protested were placed on the *dereš* and beaten. Meanwhile Slovak priests were not allowed to perform services and Magyars were appointed.¹⁴

This could have had a disastrous affect on the Slovaks, for the Catholic priests and Protestant ministers were looked upon as leaders by the people. With few exceptions, the clergy were the only national-minded Slovaks possessing a higher education. They used their learning to better the lives of the people through writing and organizing schools. The Slovak aristocracy, on the other hand, were pro-Magyar in their sympathies and looked with indifference on their own countrymen.

Influence of Anton Bernolák

In 1787, Anton Bernolák, a Catholic priest, published his Slovak grammar. His work laid the foundations for a Slovak literary language and contributed to a growing national consciousness.¹⁵

Heretofore, Slovak writers had used Czech as a medium of written expression, but now they had, based on the West Slovak dialect, the beginning of their own literary language. Slovak writers now turned to the distant past in Slovak history, and using the new idiom, wrote about her past glory and achievements in an effort to inspire the people. Not long afterwards, in 1793, Bernolák and his followers founded the Slovak Education Society for the purpose of publishing and distributing Slovak books. A

generous patron and member of the Trnava Literary circle was Alexander Rudnay, Archbishop Cardinal of Ostrihom, who openly proclaimed, "Slovak I am and if I were a Pope I would still be a Slovak."¹⁶

For the Slovak people, Bernolák and his followers had taken the first stride toward the preservation of their language, heritage, and nation.¹⁷ "Had it not been for those who in the 1790's were awake, as true Slovaks, by the year 1867 we would have been smothered by Magyarization," were the words used by Škultéty to stress the importance of the school of Bernolák.¹⁸

Before the Slovaks could present a more united front against the Magyars, however, it was necessary to close the ranks among their own people. One of the greatest obstacles which confronted the Slovak leaders was the selection of a literary language which would be accepted by both Catholic and Protestant groups.

Centered in Trnava, the Catholics continued on their new course by using the Western Slovak vernacular as their vehicle for development of a literary language. The Bernolák group was steering away from the Czech which until this time had been used by the educated class as the literary language in Slovakia. On the other hand, the Protestants remained adherents of the Czech. They in turn began to gather around the Lutheran Lycee in Bratislava. In 1801, they founded the "Society for Slovak Literature," and two years later they established a chair for the study of the Slovak language and literature at the Lycee.¹⁹

Ludovít Štúr And The Defense of Slovak Rights

For the Slovaks much good emanated from the Lycee in the years that followed. In the circles of the young students, Ludovít Štúr from 1836 became prominent. Born in the small town of Uhrovec, the son of a school teacher, Ludovít was destined to devote his life to his people. He succeeded in getting the chair of Slovak as substitute of the superannuated Professor George Palkovič.²⁰

In order to prepare himself for the cause of his nation, Štúr, in 1838, departed for Germany to take up studies at the University of Halle. During his sojourn at Halle he continued to keep contact with his homeland by

exchanging letters with his literary associates in Slovakia and Bohemia.

Before returning home Štúr visited the Lusatians, an island of the Western Slavic people located in the "German Sea." He hoped to find the purest type of Slavic character and racial purity. He came upon a village which except for the name of the community had lost all its Slavic identity. Štúr was moved by this experience and in a poem called "The Pagan Priest" expressed with sadness the eventual loss of these people to the Slavic world. On his way home he lingered in Prague at the home of a dear friend, Jaroslav Pospíšil. Unfortunately, Štúr fell down the steps and was forced to remain.²¹ During his convalescence he fell in love with his host's daughter, Maria. After great deliberation, Štúr decided against placing his own personal feelings before those of his people.

It may be said by some that a marriage at this time by Štúr would have meant his loss to the Slovak cause. There is no doubt that during his marital adjustment he may have neglected his life's work, but one must not forget his burning desire to fulfill his mission for the welfare of his people. It must also be remembered that Štúr's prospective father-in-law was a man steeped in the Slavic cause which in itself would certainly have not been a deterring factor towards Štúr's continued efforts in the Slovak cause. Indeed, the Slovak people came much closer to losing their great son in 1833 and from an entirely different quarter.

After completing his studies in that year at the Lycee in Bratislava, Štúr was employed at the office on the estate of Count Zay. Such a position would have been cherished by most young men, yet Štúr resigned. His mission and work lay elsewhere. When his mother protested and pleaded that he remain, Štúr in a voice full of love and emotion said, "Mommy dear, as you see today, I will still be a student. I must be a student." Štúr returned to Bratislava where he gave himself to his people.²² Few will deny that Ján Kollár's "Slávy Dcéra" (The Daughter of Sláva) and Paul Joseph Šafárik's "Slavonic Antiquities" had influenced Štúr's decision.²³

The Lycee attracted not only Slovaks but also Serbian

and Croatian youth.²⁴ Replicas of the society at the Lycee were found in other schools in Slovakia. Stimulating contacts among the Catholic and Lutheran Slovak students was established through correspondence. They were preparing each other for future duties in life.

Acceleration of Magyarization

It was not until the 1830's that the non-Magyar nations began to rise and defend themselves against the accelerated Magyarization program.²⁵ By 1820, in some counties, Magyar was advocated as the language in non-Magyar schools.²⁶ A terrible blow was dealt to Slovak people by the Hungarian Diet in 1825-27. Seemingly, the only purpose of the Diet body at the time was to replace Latin with Magyar as the official language. Consequently this meant that all citizens of Hungary would be forced to use the Magyar language in schools, civil service, army and public life as well. To further the cause of Magyarization, Count Štefan Széchenyi, prominent Magyar nobleman, offered to donate his yearly income towards the building of a Magyar academy. A member of the parliament explained that the chief reason for such aims was for the defense against Russian pressure.²⁷ The constant fear of Russia led the Magyars to look upon a strong Poland as a likely ally.

Professor Daniel Rapant explains that Felsobukki Nagy Pál in his Parliamentary speech in 1833 called for the need of a resurrected Poland and a widening of Magyarization to the remotest frontiers of Hungary. He emphasized a common frontier with Poland.²⁸ Needless to say, much of this fear can be attributed to the cleverness of the Magyars in their defense against the Slavic nations. Both German and Magyar publishers used "Pan-Slavism" extensively as their propaganda weapon.

With their careful program of assimilating other nations, the Magyars themselves made blunders which were to turn the Slovak people further away from them. M. Rey wrote:

"The Magyar nobles had often made generous sacrifices in the defense of their own interests but they had always shown the most deplorable selfishness as regards the condition of the peasants."²⁹ All this in turn gave the

Austrian crown an opportunity to play the part of the oppressed peasants' friend.³⁰

The Slovak peasant from the middle of the 16th to the middle of the 19th century bore the main burden of taxation in Hungary, paying fifty per cent of what he produced to his lord and to the crown.³¹ There is no question that the conditions of the peasantry in Slovakia were pitiful.³² Therefore, it is understandable that occasionally open peasant rebellions took place against their lords. One of the latest to occur was in 1831 which took place in the counties of Šariš, Zemplín, Spiš, Abauj, and Gemer with the outbreak of cholera. Some of the lords were put to death by the people who accused them of having poisoned the wells.³³ According to Bokes, the disease had spread across the frontier from Poland where Russian soldiers had been encamped.³⁴ It is estimated that 56,000 died, and one writer claims that Russian agents incited the people to revolt against their lords.³⁵ The brutality with which the revolt was put down left hatred in the hearts of those who survived.

In this state of affairs the Emperor in 1833 invited the Diet to meet at Bratislava to discuss agrarian reforms which he claimed were drawn up by himself.³⁶ Among the people there was great hope that such interest on the part of the Emperor would mean the gradual alleviation of their terrible conditions. Actually, the congress did not concern itself with such matters and instead they were put aside to be dealt with at later sessions. Something more important now commanded their attention, the coronation of Francis's son, Ferdinand, as king of Hungary. As Magyars they were won over to the new king when he contributed his coronation gift to the Magyar Scientific Academy.

Ferdinand, who claimed to be Magyar at heart, became a strong supporter for the Magyarization program. In 1830, the Diet passed a series of laws which extended the reaches of the Magyar language. By 1836, Magyar was elevated to equal stature with Latin as a language to be used in courts and documents. As a result of the Diet of 1839, Magyar now became the official language of Hungary. Now Magyarization would need only time. What

would St. Stephen, Hungary's greatest king, have said of this? The Magyars had revered their king and maybe they would have been wiser had they paid heed to his words of wisdom. In a letter written by St. Stephen to his son, St. Emerich, we find him saying: "For as guests some from various parts of the provinces, they bring different languages and customs, knowledge, and arms, all of which adorn the royal court; and make it more magnificent. All this shakes the self-confidence of foreigners. A country with one language and one morality is weak and fragile. Therefore I exhort you, my son, to accept them with benevolence and hold them in esteem in order that they may prefer staying with you in the kingdom."³⁷ Thus, the Magyars were taking their ship on a different course than that charted by their great captain, St. Stephen.

At this time, Ľudovít Štúr returned to the Lycee in Bratislava from Germany where he had been studying for the last two years. Much had taken place in his absence; however, he was the man destined to lead his people during their great trial in 1848-49.

An effective weapon to be used against Štúr and his followers was the *Pesti Hirlap*, the first political newspaper in Hungary and edited by Louis Kossuth in 1841. The "forties" were to see the Magyars, "champions" of the newly-won freedom of the press acting quickly to refuse its benefits to their weaker fellow nations. Although some assurances were given that racial tolerance would be honored to all, it was not long before the true character of the journal became evident. Kossuth was very free in his attacks on the Slovaks and answers to his attacks were never allowed space in his "democratic" paper.³⁸ The *Pesti Hirlap* became the voice of Magyarization.

The Magyars in their search for every technique and new approach did not overlook the possibilities of using the religious issue as a vehicle toward their goal of assimilation. This only served to strengthen Slovak resistance.

On September 10, 1840, Count Zay was appointed chief inspector of the Protestant Congregations and schools.³⁹ In his acceptance speech he called for the promotion of Magyarization as the only salvation for the Protestant confession in Slovakia. Zay's goal was to unify the Lutheran

and Calvinist Churches. Of all the Lutherans in Hungary, five eighths were Slovaks, the rest were Germans. On the other hand, the Calvinists were Magyars and were greater in number. This in itself added to Slovak suspicions that such a union was not in the interest of the faith as proclaimed, but actually a chauvinistic design on the part of the Magyars to absorb the Slovak people.⁴⁰

Zay openly announced in a public circular, September 26, 1840, his determination to Magyarize the Slovaks. Moreover, he stated that the Slovak language would prevent the Slovaks from being good stolid Protestants, and the Magyarization of the Slavs was the holiest duty of every genuine patriot.⁴¹

Hungary, according to Zay, could only be strong if she were welded into one nation, for she could then defend herself from the danger in the north, Russia.⁴² Slovak leaders were not tardy in answering Zay. Štúr's rebuttal was so intelligently plain that Zay became firmly convinced Štúr was behind all the protestations that were being made. He was determined to have Štúr removed from the chair of Slovak Studies at the Lycee. This appeared to be quite difficult to do inasmuch as Štúr was very popular. Nevertheless, supporters of Zay's plan proclaimed that the Lycee's at Bratislava and Levoča were the hotbeds of all Slovak societies at Lutheran schools and colleges in Slovakia. For the time being, however, Magyar plans were not successful.

Ján Seberini answered Zay on April 2, 1841, by stating that he, Zay, professed to Magyarize in the name of Protestantism; yet that is not only contrary to the Protestant beliefs, but also to all Christian teachings. "Who has the right to say what language a man must speak?" he continued, "I am a Slovak not because of glory and honor but according to Christian teachings, for God wanted that I be born Slovak. Therefore, I am not ashamed of my origin nor my tongue just as any German, Frenchman, Magyar need not to be ashamed."⁴³

It must be remembered that not all of the Protestant clergy sensed danger in the union; nevertheless, Zay's program eventually became evident even to those idealists. At Nitra, where some believed that union of the two

Protestant groups was in good faith, Jozef Miloslav Hurban warned them to be more realistic and not to be taken in. The part that Hurban was to play in the revolt of 1848-49 was second to none but his great friend and comrade in arms, Ľudovít Štúr.

Jozef Miloslav Hurban

Born on the 19th of March, 1817, in Beckov, Jozef Hurban was educated by his father, Pavol, a Lutheran Minister of that place. His father was timid and wished not to implicate himself in national problems. Therefore, under these circumstances, the youthful Hurban while at home was not exposed to Slovak national consciousness.⁴⁴ After spending his lower grades at Trenčín, he went in 1830 to study at the Lycee at Bratislava. He was there for six years before he met Štúr. Prior to this time Hurban had not taken part in Slovak aspirations at the Lycee.

One evening, while taking a walk in the streets of Bratislava, he met Štúr who asked him whether he was studying and practicing in the Slovak language. This Štúr explained, was the duty of all Slovaks. Hurban at the moment was embarrassed and could not answer. Štúr then said, "You are a Slovak, is that correct? And is not your friend George Záborský?" Hurban replied that he was a Slovak and that his friend was George Záborský.⁴⁵ Štúr complimented Hurban for his selection of such a good, able friend and recommended that he continue to cultivate Záborský's friendship. Before the two had departed, Hurban was invited to visit Štúr.

That meeting was to have far-reaching effects on Hurban; for, when he arrived home, his mind was full of thought. The lamp in his room burned past midnight, while Hurban wrote his first verse in Slovak. This he presented to Štúr the next morning and from that time on the Slovak Institute in Bratislava, as well as the Slovak nation, did not have a more zealous member nor a more deserving son than Hurban.

A trip to Devín was planned for April 24, 1836, by the members of the Slovak Society at the Lycee in order to initiate and plan more definite activities. The ruins

of Devín, reminders of a rich history, stood majestic on her pedestal of massive rock guarding the confluence of the Morava and Danube rivers. This place recalled the Great Moravian Empire in the 9th century and her ceaseless struggles against German and Magyar. For the new Slovak generation this was a setting best suited for the revival of Slovak national feeling.⁴⁶ On this day filled with bright spring sunshine, lectures were given, prose recited, and songs were sung. Everyone participated in the theme of awakening Slovak consciousness.⁴⁷

In a further expression of loyalty to their beloved cause, they adopted Slavic names which they pledged to carry forever. Štúr was the first to announce that he was to take the name of Velislav and others followed suit, taking different Slavic names. Hurban took the name Miloslav, a name which was to live in Slovak history.⁴⁸

Below the fortress of Devín rested a small town by the same name, and there in a tavern the young Slovaks gathered after an eventful day. Conversation, according to Hurban, had to be carried on in Latin so that waiters might not learn and betray their information.⁴⁹

Just as Štúr and others had taken trips to broaden their views and get better acquainted with affairs which might influence their actions, Hurban also traveled.⁵⁰ His opportunity was afforded during a vacation 1839 when he visited Vienna, Bohemia and Moravia.⁵¹ In 1841, a book relating his experiences was published: *Trip of a Slovak to his Slav Brothers in Moravia and Bohemia*.⁵²

When he completed his studies in 1840, Hurban became town chaplain at Brezová. For Hurban, the post at Brezová was a fortunate one, for here his work was to be understood and appreciated. Even before his arrival, the people of Brezová had had experiences in the struggle against the landed gentry. The peasants were aware of their rights and were prepared to defend them. They, too, had been effected by Štúr and showed a keen interest in his work.⁵³

Although Hurban knew that the upper classes would hold it against him, he, nevertheless, set about to reach the less fortunate classes.⁵⁴ Within himself there was a shining spiritual fire that others felt, and with his expressive face, warm kind eyes, and strong thundering

voice, he imparted to others the knowledge he had. Through talks and writings, he began to create among the uneducated people an interest in how they could better themselves. Out of this grew a Sunday school and Moderation and Temperance Society, both of which were to help in strengthening his people.

The Sunday school was designed for those living in Brezová and it met on Sundays and holidays and on other days when time permitted. Those who attended were taught the arts and sciences. The Moderation and Temperance Society was just as important. Drunkenness came to Slovakia not through a habit developed from pleasure, but as a medium of escape from the extreme hardships of life. Not anywhere in Hungary was misery so great as in Slovakia, nor was drunkenness more widespread. Besides education, there was a dire need for bettering the lot of these people who lived under such deplorable conditions.⁵⁵ The enlightened Slovak leaders knew that in order to lift up their nation they must first of all remove this scourge of alcoholism.⁵⁶ Throughout Slovakia, Moderation Societies were set up which were similar to those in America, but were chiefly modeled after those in Ireland where conditions were unfortunately similar to those found in Slovakia. However, the obstacle to legislation which would have curbed, if not eliminated, the sale of liquor came from the great landowners and Jews.⁵⁷ They owned the distilleries as well as the village taverns. The latter were frequented by those who could not pay and high rates of interest were charged them.⁵⁸

Agricultural schools had been established, but they were more for the middle class: townsmen, tradesmen, and prosperous farmers who were able to save their earnings.⁵⁹ But for the less fortunate people of the lower classes, the Moderation and Temperance Societies had greater meaning and importance.⁶⁰ Its founders believed that Slovak patriotism must be aroused, for a poor and drunken nation could achieve nothing but death.

In the field of literary activities Hurban felt there was a strong need for a journal to help to direct Slovak literary life. In fact, when in May, 1840, Hurban grieved that there was no journal which could serve the interest

of defending national rights, he made this comparison: "A journal is to the life of a nation what hands are to a clock to indicate the time; therefore, as conditions exist we do not even have a clock."⁶¹

Putting forth all his efforts, he managed, by 1842, to produce a yearly almanac, *Nitra*, written in Czech, consisting of some three hundred pages.⁶² Included in the first edition were songs, poems, and prose from members of the young Slovak generation. *Nitra's* title page was consecrated to "The daughters and sons of Slovakia, Moravia, Bohemia and Silesia."

Hurban dedicated the introductory poem of this first issue of *Nitra* to Ján Čaplovič, landowner and great lover of books and literature. All this was done purposefully so that he might join the Slovak cause more actively.⁶³

There was some speculation among the Magyars as to Hurban's purpose of editing the *Nitra*. Some claimed that the almanac was given the name *Nitra* so that Slovakia might arise around the glory that surrounded that name. Prior to this time any open discussion about historic Nitra was forbidden. However, friends of Hurban came to his rescue by tactfully assuring the Magyars there was nothing to fear from Hurban who was but a young man and as such should be excused for his actions.⁶⁴ A weaker man would have sensed the danger but Hurban stayed on to put out three more almanacs until 1848 when he was forced to flee for his life.

In the year 1843, Hurban was called as pastor to Hlboké and there he edited his second issue of *Nitra*, but this time in the new Slovak literary language, and censors played havoc with this issue.⁶⁵

The Magyars also hindered in every way the realization of a Slovak newspaper. Štúr, with the help of Kollár, had petitioned in 1842 for permission to publish a newspaper, but approval was denied. There was no telling how long this condition would last. In the meantime, something had to be done to draw the Slovak people together into a unified body. It was for this purpose in 1843 that the Slovak leaders Štúr and Hodža met in Hurban's residence in Hlboké.⁶⁶ Here they decided that if they were not free to edit a newspaper, a society formed along national lines might help achieve the same results.

Slovak Literary Language

The triumvirate agreed that Czech should no longer be used by the Lutherans in their churches and writings. Therefore, the adoption of the Central Slovak dialect by this body brought the Lutherans and Catholics closer to the goal of having one dialect as a base for their literary language. There was a great need to reach the people, but in a language that was dear to them and one which they understood. Not all people could read the Czech, only the educated; it seemed so foreign to the common people.

The society planned for in Hlboké paved the way for the achievement of a common language.⁶⁷ Near the beautiful High Tatra mountains on the 27th of August, 1844, in Liptovský Sv. Mikuláš, the Tatrín Society was organized. In the words of Rapant, "It was the culminating point of cultural organization in Slovakia at that time; and it was the most important organ for the Štúr generation."⁶⁸ A factor of far reaching consequences for Slovakia was that it was the first national Slovak organization and it encompassed all of the sides and segments of the nation, Catholic and Lutheran.⁶⁹

Along with unity of language, it concerned itself with the cultural needs of the Slovaks.⁷⁰ The Tatrín gave financial support to young Catholic and Protestant men who were studying in higher schools of education. Peter Bohúň, the famous Slovak artist who painted portraits and scenes of the revolution of 1848-1849, was given such assistance by the Tatrín, so that he was able to publish a book of national costumes.⁷¹

The third meeting of the Tatrín was held at Čachtice in the Catholic parish house chiefly to resolve the language issue.⁷² On this memorial occasion the Catholics and Lutherans on the 10th of August, 1847, agreed to adopt the Central Slovak as the common literary language. The effect of this meeting meant the rupture with the Czechs. As was expected, it drew exclamations of disapproval from Palkovič, Kollár, and others who felt the only salvation for the Slovaks was in their tie with the Czechs. On the part of the Czechs there was great anger, and claims were made that such a move only strengthened the German influence about them.

The Czech nationals could not understand the Slovak problem,⁷³ for the vernacular is the natural medium and the truest heartbeat of the people. It, the vernacular, only could help enlighten and lift the Slovak people from their death sleep. Not all Czechs, however, were against the founding of a new literary language. This group argued that a Slovak literature would enrich the whole of Slavic literature.

On the other hand, the agreement reached in Čachtice was celebrated throughout Slovakia by Protestants and Catholics alike. Štúr's former students who now served as Protestant clergymen were filled with joy. It seemed that at once Slovak was elevated to a literary language bringing with it a new life which surged into the land. Slavic historians claim that had not such a step been taken it is doubtful whether the Slovaks could have withstood the pressure of Magyarization.⁷⁴ It seemed that everywhere nobles, towns citizens, and people of the villages began to proclaim that they were Slovaks. The poor classes were not able to understand most of what was written. Time was needed so they might completely understand. Along with Sunday schools which had been established new ones sprang up, and, in addition, writing and reading rooms were opened. People began to realize that through learning and enlightenment they could be helped out of their misery. In Brezová, peasants who had long been held under the nobles' yoke began their attempt to free themselves by purchasing the land. Now that it was their land they worked it as never before.⁷⁵

Books and articles were not written to adorn libraries but to serve the people. Advice on practical matters in the written medium was beginning to evidence itself in the lives of the Slovak people. The societies which already existed in the cultural, social, and economic field were given a tremendous impetus by the new language.

In the meantime, all protests against Zay had not been aired. The inroads of Magyarization aroused superintendent Dr. Paul Jozeffy⁷⁶ to protest at the Lutheran general convention on September 10, 1841. He warned that if they continued forcing Magyarization into Slovak churches and schools, he himself would present these

grievances to the court.⁷⁷ Needless to say, Magyar ambitions were not deterred, for when in 1840 the *Jitřenka* (Morning Star), a student journal, was first issued at Levoča the Magyar press vehemently attacked it as a tool of Pan-Slavism. By 1841 the young students were forced to cease its publication.⁷⁸

Paul Jozeffy Heads Delegation to Vienna, June, 1842

Every move by the Slovaks the Magyars suspected as intrigues against their kingdom and made use of the strongest propaganda weapon by crying "Pan-Slavism." They claimed Pan-Slavism was not only dangerous to the Magyars but also politically perilous to the Empire; therefore, it was necessary that the Magyars and Germans fight this menace.⁷⁹

All candidates for Slovak pastorates were barred unless they could speak Magyar fluently. It was under these conditions that 200 ministers under the supervision of Jozeffy signed a petition demanding rights for the Slovaks. Jozeffy and his delegation went to Vienna in early June 1842 where they presented their grievances before Ferdinand V. The petition began by stating that the Slovaks are an individual nation which can progress only when it fosters its own tongue. Furthermore, for many centuries the Slovaks had made sacrifices along with other nations of Hungary for the preservation of the Empire. They had been able to use their own language, but now the Slovak priests were being humiliated by having to adopt another tongue. Because of this, the Slovak language and its literature was suffering, while in business transactions Slovak was no longer used. They, therefore, petitioned: 1) that the King should declare officially as false all testimony against the Slovaks that had been so proven, 2) that proper authority be granted so that two censors for Slovak literature be assigned to interpret and defend Slovak works, 3) that the seat of language and literature at the Lycee at Bratislava be confirmed and fully certified, 4) that at the University of Pest there be established a seat of Slavic language and literature, 5) that for matriculation records and church protocol Latin be put in use again, 6) that churches and schools be defended against

fanatic, self styled patriots who seek to Magyarize everything.⁸⁰

This petition was signed by Paul Jozeffy, John Seberíni, John Chalúpka, Michael Hodža, Samuel Ferjenčík, George Palkovič and 200 ministers, teachers and men of all stations in life.⁸¹

Although the Slovak delegation did not get very far with its request, it served as a morale booster for the Slovaks. From the outset, promises were made and it looked as though something might be accomplished. The delegation had an audience with Metternich who assured them their request would be studied. After leaving Metternich they saw Count Kolowrat, a Czech nobleman and member of the Emperor's entourage. Although he greeted them with great warmth and is reported to have said, "Slav must help Slav," the delegation felt that they were being sidetracked. Kolowrat sensed this lack of confidence and assured them that he would lend them his support.

When they left Vienna, the delegation felt something would be achieved. Now it seemed necessary only to wait. Upon their return home the delegation was shocked by the Magyar's overt reaction. The Slovak delegation had gone to Vienna with nothing but peaceful intentions in mind. But now the chauvinistic Magyars were infuriated and began to reel off in their papers and journals diatribes against the deputation headed by Jozeffy. Amidst this growing fervor a climax was reached when Kossuth delivered his flailing message at the General Convention on June 15th in Pest. In his attack, Kossuth, capable orator that he was, spared no words and vehemently described the deputation as a shame for the Protestant church and the betrayal of the best interest of the kingdom of Hungary. Kossuth demanded the punishment and resignation of Jozeffy from his superintendency.

By the end of October, 1842, the petition was sent from Vienna to Buda to Palatine Joseph for his study and recommendations. When Kollár got wind of this he wrote a letter in November advising Jozeffy to come to Buda and intercede with the Palatine. Jozeffy arrived in Buda at the end of November and brought with him data and other materials with which he could strengthen his

position before the Palatine.⁸² But all proved futile, for prior to his arrival Joseph had been prepared by the Magyars for such an audience.

Already on the 16th of April, 1843, Kollár had warned Jozeffy that the Palatine was Magyar in his sympathies. Moreover, according to Kollár, the Palatine Joseph had been oriented and advised by Vienna to disregard the Slovak demands. Vienna had no desire to strengthen the Slavs whether they be Slovak, Czech, or Serb, for in their union and strength she saw jeopardy to her position. At the same time she knew she could depend upon the support of the Slavs in case the Magyars caused trouble. And yet because of rumblings in Germany and Italy she could not afford to offend the Magyars.

This policy of "cat and mouse" by Vienna was reaffirmed when in his letter to Jozeffy dated April 25th, 1843, the Palatine urged him to be patient, thus leaving Jozeffy to hope that all was not in vain. Hodža summed up the situation: "We cannot expect help from the Magyars but we must look to the Empire which is far away; and God is too high to help."⁸³

Other attempts were made to present Slovak grievances before the Emperor but they likewise proved fruitless. The Slovaks now more than ever realized that they must fight alone.

Štúr Leaves Bratislava

As a result of Kossuth's charges at the General Convention an inquiry was held to determine for the Magyars the real reason for Jozeffy's trip to Vienna. Through their cunning, Zay and Kossuth at last felt they had a way of removing Štúr from his position as professor of Slovak Studies at the Lycee. With it they hoped that if they could not remove the chair of studies completely, they could at least render it harmless through an appointee of their choice. The Slovaks called his investigation an inquisition, but in spite of all the false charges and doctored methods the inquiry ended in an acquittal of the charges made.

Zay, however, insisted upon action which in the future would prevent Štúr from making lectures. Unheard-of pressure brought the removal of Štúr in December 1843.

A petition initiated by his beloved students was circulated for signatures. From all over Slovakia protests came from clergy and laity for the restoration of Štúr to his post.⁸⁴ This did not, however, bring the result desired. In a feeling of indignation the young students left Bratislava. While most of them stopped at Levoča, others continued on to Prešov, Kežmarok, Štiavica and Jelenová.⁸⁵ On their way, with heavy hearts but no resignation, they composed a song "Nad Tatrou sa blýska" (Over Tatra's Peaks Lightning Flashes).⁸⁶

The Magyars, blinded by their recent victory, did not realize that they had ironically rendered a great service to the Slovak cause. Previously the young Slovak students were centered in Bratislava where observation could be made of their every move, but they now were being scattered throughout Slovakia. Like so many seeds the ideals of Štúr and other Slovak leadership, knowledge, national pride, betterment and unity of purpose began to sprout and grow.

The Slovak National News

For Štúr his removal meant that his next fight would not be in the schools as before but among the masses of the Slovak people. To help reach the people a newspaper was needed. It was not until 1845, however, that the first issue of the *Slovenské Národné Noviny* (Slovak National News) was published.⁸⁷ The paper, written in Slovak, was to become the most important vehicle in presenting Štúr's platform, and in fighting for Slovak rights.⁸⁸ Though criticized by some for lacking more aggressive action, Štúr stuck to his conservative approach, for he knew that if the Magyars were irritated the paper would not have long to live.

Štúr believed that in order that the Slovak people might better preserve their nation they must be first educated in politics as well as home affairs. Some of his articles seemingly were written for the benefit of the Magyars to whom Štúr wished to prove that the Slovaks desired only peace and what was rightfully theirs. Through his paper, Štúr hoped to modernize his people, therefore he discussed their schools, institutions, libraries, and

societies. His words gave new hope to those who long suffered under the burden of serfdom.

As a result of the appearance of the *Slovak National News*, there blossomed in all corners of Slovakia in 1845 a great number of Literary, Social, Agricultural, Economic, Woman's, and Moderation and Temperance societies. They were modeled after those which had been found in previous years, but now they seemed to grow everywhere. To reach national unity and purpose every facet was tried. As with her fighting sons, the role women were to play became apparent. Articles appeared in Štúr's newspaper stressing the point that being good mother was no longer sufficient, for all women now must take on additional responsibilities and become interested in the affairs of their nation.⁸⁹ Other writers called for the establishment of a girls' institute where industry and devotion to the Slovak cause would be taught.⁹⁰ Readers of the Slovak newspapers were reproached for not helping themselves and were given sound advice that jealousy of others will not get them ahead. Štúr wrote that, "In order for the Slovaks to be more fortunate, they must be concerned about themselves and must get a 'common soul.'" He stated further, "Although the mark of a nation is her language, the Slovak tongue is completely neglected in schools; it does not have social and constitutional rights for its cultivation. This is due to the fact that the Slovaks have not lived like a nation but as an individual. He has hidden his tongue only for use in the home and therefore it has no chance of blossoming forth into reality."⁹¹ Hodža in his *Dobruo slovo* (Good Word) proclaimed that the Slovaks must recognize their own nation and then others will do likewise.

The program of Štúr as outlined in the *Slovak National News* was but the continuation of demands placed before Vienna and Pest by the Slovaks for the past twenty years. Aside from the need of economic reforms the major issue was that of language. Štúr's paper was read in towns and villages. Hurban wrote, "The voice of that national organ under Štúr was really strong, one which had to be considered."⁹² The *Slovak National News* had awakened the Slovak people and helped prepare them for the moment for which everyone waited.

FOOTNOTES

- 1) Charles E. Maurice, *The Revolutionary Movements of 1848-1849*, p. vi.
- 2) Daniel Rapant, *Slovenské Povstanie*, (Slovak Uprising) Vol. I, Bk. I, p. 18.
- 3) Milan Hodža, "Political Evolution of Slovakia," *Slovakia Then and Now*, ed. R. W. Seton-Watson, p. 71.
- 4) Alphonse M. Lamartine, "Past, Present and Future," *North American Review*, LXXII, (Jan. 1851), p. 206.
- 5) Rapant, op. cit., pp. 75, 88, 89; "Austria and Germany," *Quarterly Review*, LXXXIV, (Dec. 1849), p. 198.
- 6) Július Botto, *Slováci*, (Slovaks), I, 23; Arnost Dennis, *Slováci: Otázka Rakouská*, (Slovaks: The Austrian Question), p. 134; C. J. C. Street, *Slovakia Past and Present*, p. 9; Rapant, op. cit., p. 84.
- 7) Arthur Patterson, *The Magyars*, II, 70.
- 8) Jozef Cieker, *Slovenská Otázka*, (Slovak Question), pp. 19, 20; E. L. Miyatovich, "Panslavism: Its Rise and Decline", *Fortnightly Review*, XIV (1873), p. 96.
- 9) Michael Hodža, *Der Slowake*, (The Slovak), p. 10; Rapant, op. cit., p. 4.
- 10) Hodža, op. cit., p. 16.
- 11) Louis Leger, *A History of Austro-Hungary*, p. 520; Geoffrey Drage, *Austria-Hungary*, p. 200; Harold W. Temperley, "Racial Strife in Hungary," *Westminster Review*, C. XIX (Jan. 1908), p. 4.
- 12) Daniel Rapant, *Ilegálna Maďarizácia: 1790-1840*, (Illegal Magyarization), p. 3.
- 13) Cieker, op. cit., p. 39.
- 14) Hodža, op. cit., p. 10.
- 15) Ernest Flachbarth, *Companion to Hungarian Studies*, p. 372.
- 16) Michael Hodža, *Der Slowake*, (The Slovak), p. 41.
- 17) František Hrušovský, *Slovenské Dejiny*, (Slovak History), p. 248.
- 18) Škultéty, op. cit., p. 62.
- 19) Július Bodnár, *Dr. Jozef Miloslav Hurban*, p. 12.
- 20) Jozef Škultéty, *Sketches from Slovak History*, trans. O. D. Koreff, p. 184; Bodnár, loc. cit.; Albert Pražák, *Dejiny Spisovné Slovenštiny po Dobu Štúrova*, (History of Literary Slovak Before the Time of Štúr) p. 163; Miss Pardoe, an English lady who traveled throughout Hungary in the late 1830's wrote, "It is said that in the whole kingdom there is not so high and liberal an academic spirit in any scholastic establishment as in that of the Lycee of Bratislava" (*City of the Magyar and Hungary*), II, 281.
- 21) František Frydecký, *Dopisy Ľudevíta Štúra Jaroslavu Pospíšilovi*, (Letters of Ľudovít Štúr to Jaroslav Pospíšil), pp. 31, 73.

- 22) Jozef Hurban, *Ludovít Štúr*, I, 38,39.
- 23) See R. W. Seton-Watson, *A History of the Czechs and Slovaks*, pp. 173-176.
- 24) There were, in addition, German and Magyar societies at the Lycee at Bratislava.
- 25) Daniel Rapant, *Ilegálna Maďarizácia: 1790-1840*, (Illegal Magyarization), p. v.
- 26) *Ibid.*, p. 23; Pardoe, *op. cit.*, III, 78-80.
- 27) Rapant, *op. cit.*, p. 24.
- 28) Daniel Rapant, *Slovenské Povstanie*, (Slovak Uprising), Vol. I., Bk. I., p. 66.
- 29) M. Rey in his study of this period described the privileges of the nobility: "The rights of the nobles were as vast as a privileged race of conquerors could possibly enjoy . . . Neither the noble himself nor his servants paid any tax, real or personal, to the king or the counties; neither his horse nor his men could be required to work on the road or the dykes. The peasant alone was the person who paid the tax termed 'domestical' for the expense of the Diet and the county administration. The peasant paid the salary of the school master, the notary, the priest, the patrol. The peasant constructed and maintained either with his own money or his labor, the roads, bridges, churches, schools, public buildings, dykes, canals; and it was the peasant and the townsman who drained the marshes, turned the course of rivers, etc. The peasant and the townspeople paid the war tax and furnished recruits." (Autriche, Hongrie, et Turquie on 1839-48, p. 126, cited by Corvinus, *Hungary: Its Constitutions and the Catastrophe*, p. 17); Louis Leger, *A History of Austro-Hungary*, p. 493.
- 30) Peter E. Turnbull, *Austria: Social and Political Conditions*, II, 21, 22.
- 31) Štefan Janšák, "The Land Question in Slovakia," *The Slavonic Review*, (March, 1930), p. 620.
- 32) As a result of the Diet of 1764 a law was passed restricting the power of inflicting corporal punishment to the bestowing of twenty-five lashes. (Lord Henry Brougham, *Political Philosophy*, II, 93).
- 33) Leger, *op. cit.*, pp. 493, 494.
- 34) František Bokes, *Dejiny Slovákov a Slovenska*, (History of the Slovaks and Slovakia); Vol. IV, *Slovenská Vlastiveda*, p. 146.
- 35) Arthur Yolland, *Hungary*, p. 253.
- 36) Leger, *op. cit.*, p. 494.
- 37) Ernest Flachbarth, *History of Hungary's Nationalities*, pp. 5, 6.
- 38) Arminius Vambery, *Hungary*, p. 417.
- 39) Hurban, *op. cit.*, II, 118.
- 40) Arnost Dennis, *Slováci: Otázka Rakouská*, p. 155.

- 41) Ľudovít Štúr, *Starý i Nový Věk Slováků*, (Old and New Slovak Age), p. 39.
- 42) Štúr writes the Magyars feel that they can only be safe from Russia by Magyarizing the Slovaks. "Was there a time," he asked, "when the Slovaks have not proved faithful? We have fought for our country, Hungary, and thousands have shed their blood." (*Ibid.*, p. 42).
- 43) Július Botto, *Slováci*, pp. 53, 54.
- 44) Hurban, *op. cit.*, III, 228.
- 45) Dr. Ľudvik Kühn, *Budítelia v župe bratislavskej*, p. 66.
- 46) Nitra had been considered.
- 47) Hurban, *op. cit.*, I, 94-106.
- 48) *Ibid.*, 102.
- 49) *Ibid.*, 103.
- 50) *Ibid.*, 155.
- 51) Hurban visited the Rajhrad Cloister in Moravia and made the following entry in the visitors' book on July 10, 1839: "Miloslav Jozef Hurban, a traveling Slovak, visited this famous cloister with the motto, 'Long Live Czecho-Slovak'" (Author in 1948 humbly added his name to the same visitors' book at the Rajhrad Cloister).
- 52) *Cesta Slováka ku bratrům slavenským na Moravě a v Čechách*.
- 53) Július Bodnár, *Dr. Jozef Miloslav Hurban*, p. 17.
- 54) *Ibid.*, p. 16.
- 55) See Štefan Janšák, *Les Conditions Sociales dans l'Ancienne Hongrie et la Situation de la Slovaquie*.
- 56) Rapant, *op. cit.*, p. 159.
- 57) *Ibid.*, p. 160; Max Schlesinger, *The War in Hungary, 1848-1849*, II, 218, 219.
- 58) G. R. Gleig, *Germany, Bohemia, and Hungary*, III, 59-62.
- 59) Rapant, *op. cit.*, p. 158.
- 60) Rapant relates that many of these people would spend their last earnings for liquor, and that in some areas between one third to one half of the population on certain days were intoxicated; even children in the nursing stages were given alcohol. *Loc. cit.*
- 61) Karol Goláň, *Rok so Štúrovcami*, p. 11.
- 62) At that time there were practically no printing facilities available in Slovakia.
- 63) Vendelín Jankovič, *Ján Čaplovič: Život, Osobnosť, Dielo*, p. 24.
- 64) Bodnár, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
- 65) J. Škultéty, *O Slovákoch* (About the Slovaks), p. 254.
- 66) Hurban, *op. cit.*, II, 302; Hurban wrote: "Tatrin's function was to the nation what Štúr's was to the Slovak youth." *Loc. cit.*

- 67) Pražák, *op. cit.*, p. 304.
- 68) Rapant, *op. cit.*, p. 156.
- 69) Mikuláš Dohnány, *Historia Povstaňa Slovenskneho z Roku 1848*, (History of the Slovak Uprising in 1848), p. 21.
- 70) Hodža, *op. cit.*, p. 54.
- 71) Hurban, *op. cit.*, p. 298; Dohnány, *op. cit.*, p. 21.
- 72) Botto, *op. cit.*, p. 62.
- 73) Dohnány, *op. cit.*, p. 22.
- 74) Albert Pražák, "Czechs and Slovaks in Revolution of 1848," *The Slavonic Review*, V (March, 1927), p. 573.
- 75) Dohnány, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
- 76) In addition to his fine qualities his contemporaries described Dr. Jozeffy as being timid and lacking the firmness and obstinancy needed for his time. One can well imagine that when such a man is roused to make a protest of this order it generally must be for reason. (Botto, *op. cit.*, p. 55).
- 77) Hurban, *op. cit.*, p. 115.
- 78) *Ibid.*, p. 116.
- 79) Jozef Cieker, *Slovenská Otázka*, p. 72.
- 80) Botto, *op. cit.*, pp. 57, 58; Hurban, *op. cit.*, pp. 166-168.
- 81) *Ibid.*, p. 164.
- 82) *Ibid.*, p. 171.
- 83) Hodža, *op. cit.*, p. 32.
- 84) Škultéty, *op. cit.*, p. 200.
- 85) Pražák, *Dejiny Spisovné Slovenštiny*, *op. cit.*, pp. 285, 286.
- 86) Ján Matúška (1821-1877) was the writer of that song.
- 87) It may be interesting to note that Zay was commissioned by his government to study Štúr's request for a Slovak paper. To the surprise of Štúr and his followers the request was granted. The rejoicing which took place was not to last for any great length of time for when the Magyars saw fit, they deprived the Slovaks of their news organ.
- 88) Bokes, *op. cit.*, p. 158.
- 89) Rapant, *op. cit.*, p. 155.
- 90) Cieker, *op. cit.*, p. 210.
- 91) Rapant, *op. cit.*, p. 148.
- 92) Hurban, *op. cit.*, III, 80, 81.

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THE SLOVAK LEAGUE OF AMERICA is interested primarily in promoting the welfare and security of the United States of America.

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The Emergence of the Slovak State

Daniel F. Tanzone

I.

Following the collapse of the Hapsburg monarchy the small nations of Central Europe organized their own national states. The Slovaks joined hands with their Czech brothers and organized a common state: the Czecho-Slovak Republic. On the part of the Slovaks it was a belated re-appearance on the map of Europe after their ancestors had made a short debut in the Moravian Empire of the Ninth century.

The union with the Czechs was considered as the most opportune alternative, the others being complete independence which was beyond their will, or autonomy within Hungary. It is interesting to note that large Slovak emigrant organizations in the United States came to the same conclusions, although there was no co-ordination of action between the Slovaks in Slovakia and those in the United States.

"During the war of 1914-18 every action for the unification of the Czechs and Slovaks into a common state was considered by the Austro-Hungarian authorities as treason, and consequently there were only a few sporadic pronouncements on this theme."¹ "But the idea was being entertained by the Czech and Slovak leaders at home, while abroad an active group led by Thomas G. Masaryk and Milan R. Štefánik and Beneš worked with the Allies for the establishment of Czecho-Slovakia."² Their hard work, carried out with superhuman endurance and untiring stubbornness against many odds, was crowned with splendid success.

On October 30, 1918 in Turčiansky Svätý Martin the Slovak representatives claiming "the absolute right to self-determination" declared for unity with the Czechs (at a

meeting which bore all the marks of haste and excitement). The declaration called not only for political but also for linguistic and cultural unity and marked the beginning of a new epoch in Slovak history. From living under the Magyars, the Slovaks started a new life with the Czechs.³

To go back for a minute to look at the situation in America the historic month of May, 1918, saw events both at home and abroad moving inexorably toward the formation of a new Czecho-Slovak Republic. May saw Masaryk in Pittsburgh meeting with American Czech and Slovak leaders, explaining just how Czecho-Slovakia would be administered and precisely what the status of Slovakia would be within the new state. He assured Slovaks that Slovakia would be autonomous, would have its own schools, its own language, its own local administration, its own courts, its own legislative assembly and to further appease Slovak sensibilities he drafted a document which has since been hotly debated. It is known in history as the Pittsburgh Pact. Because Masaryk had written the draft in pencil Albert Mamatey, the President of the Slovak League of America had calligraphed and later took it to Washington where Masaryk (his government now officially recognized by the Wilson Administration), already temporary president of Czecho-Slovakia, signed the calligraphed copy on November 14 just before his departure for Europe.⁴

The agreement was necessary to assure the American Slovaks of the position of Slovakia in the Czecho-Slovak Republic. The American Czechs and Slovaks under the leadership of the Rev. Joseph Murgaš, pastor of Sacred Heart Slovak Roman Catholic Church in Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, launched a drive to raise funds for the cause of Czech and Slovak liberation. The drive netted the sum of well over \$800,000.00 and it was sent to Masaryk, Beneš, the former's daughter Alice, the National Council's offices in Paris, Russia, and the United States.⁵

The agreement proclaimed that Slovaks and Czechs would form one state but that Slovakia would be completely autonomous, and that Czechs would not meddle in the domestic affairs of Slovakia. The Pittsburgh Pact is as follows:

THE PITTSBURGH PACT

May 30, 1918

The representatives of the Slovak and Czech organizations in the United States—The Slovak League of America, the Czech National Alliance, and the Union of Czech Catholics—have deliberated, in the presence of the Chairman of the Czecho-Slovak National Council, Professor Masaryk, on the Czecho-Slovak question and on our previous program manifestations, and have resolved as follows:

We favor a political program whose purpose it shall be to unite the Czechs and the Slovaks into an autonomous state comprising the Czech lands and Slovakia.

Slovakia shall have her own administration, her own assembly and her own courts.

The Slovak language shall be the official language in the schools in public offices, and in public life in general.

The Czecho-Slovak State shall be a republic; its constitution shall be democratic.

The cooperation of the Czechs and the Slovaks in the United States shall be intensified and regulated by mutual consent, according to need and changing situations.

Detailed provisions relating to the organization of the Czecho-Slovak state shall be left to the liberated Czechs and Slovaks and their legal representatives.

Signators

Slovak Representatives: A. Mamatey, I. Bielek, J. Jancek, M. Gazdik, M. Getting, J. Pankuch, G. H. Mika, M. Bosak, I. Gessay, Rev. John Kubasek, A. Schustek, Rev. L. J. Karlovsky, Rev. Paul J. Siska, J. A. Feriencik, I. Daxner.
Czech Representatives: T. G. Masaryk, K. Pergler, H. Dostal, Dr. L. Fischer, Rev. Oldrich Zlamal, B. Simek, V. Benes, J. Zmrhal, Rev. I. Restl, J. Straka, J. Martinek, Dr. G. V. Pecival⁶

II.

The transition was loaded with difficulties optimistically minimized or overlooked (in the initial enthusiasm) but which started to transpire as the honeymoon was wearing thin. The Slovaks (and the Czechs, too) found very soon that they were much further apart than two branches of one nation ought to be or are supposed to be. Apart from an undeniable linguistic similarity there was little else these two nations had in common. In 1918 the Czechs were more progressive in their views, more aggressive in their action and more western in their political outlook than the Slovaks. At the same time the Slovaks

were practically without "intelligentsia", emerging from a battle for survival which they had very nearly lost and their general attitude was more conservative than revolutionary; in a word, they were badly equipped for the stormy days ahead. They depended greatly on Czech help. From 1919 under the pretext of helping Slovakia the Czechs were sending into Slovakia hundreds upon hundreds of teachers, officials and technicians; some of these did creditable work and rendered valuable services, others less so. Many of the new Czech arrivals committed a great number of unnecessary blunders which discredited their often well-meant help. Their ignorance of Slovak psychology made their approach to their Slovak brothers awkward and sometimes even insulting.⁷

When Masaryk entered upon the work of liberating the Czechs he did so with a singular talent and thoroughness. No other man could have possibly done better. The Czechs came to revere him as the personification of Czech genius expressed in an essentially rationalist philosophy. His outlook became fundamentally Czech. He came to be an admirer of John Hus. Educated in German schools, he was thus well equipped to cope with the German mentality. He became less a Slovak and more a stranger to the Slovak outlook and Slovak mentality. The Slovak has a deep respect for tradition: he is conservative, and does not change his opinions overnight with each new bit of information or of knowledge he may acquire. The Czech has less respect for tradition, indeed, challenges it, and is essentially opportunistic rather than conservative.⁸

The first post-war weeks witnessed a sudden revival of anti-Catholic and Hussite traditions in Bohemia. The Czechs saw in the Catholic Church a Hapsburg ally and wanted the Slovaks to see in her an instrument of Magyarization. They tried to transplant their excesses into Slovakia but with no success. For most Slovaks the Catholic Church was an object of awe and respect and any attack on it, secret or open, horrified them, even made them nostalgic for those days when the Church was sacrosanct. The British minister in Prague summed up the principal errors of the Czech administration in Slovakia in his report of November 6, 1919 as follows:

1. Hostility to the Roman Catholic Church is evidenced by Czech soldiers and officials and includes the desecration and mutilation of crucifixes and holy images, interruption of marriages, and similar offenses against the principles of culture and decency.
2. The Country has been flooded with Czech officials and Slovaks dismissed, or, if employed, they receive from one half to two-thirds less pay than the Czechs.
3. Corruption exists in public offices.
4. Attempts are being made to substitute the Czech for the Slovak language.⁹

The British representative not only pointed out these errors but strove for their rectification. With the approval of his government he advocated with both Masaryk and Beneš more moderate courses and a more reasonable approach to the Slovak problem.

One of the most important laws passed by the Czechoslovak Republic (hyphen was dropped) which antagonized the Slovaks was the Language Act (No. 122 of the year 1920). It provided that the state official language of Czechoslovakia was the "Czechoslovak" language in which (with the exception of the provisions made for the use of the languages of the minorities, namely German and Hungarian) the proceedings of all courts, organs, institutions and enterprises of the state were to be conducted.¹⁰

The last paragraph of the Pittsburgh Agreement notes that the "detailed regulations, concerning the establishment of the Czechoslovak state, are left to the liberated Czechs and Slovaks and their legal representatives." Only one recognized authority existed in the years 1918-20: the Provisional Constituent Assembly of Czechoslovakia.¹¹

Meanwhile, on December 12, 1918, Vavro Šrobár was sent to Slovakia with "full powers" from the central government and placed at the head of a semi-autonomous administration named by Prague. Soon Czech generals, Czechoslovak legionnaires, and tens of thousands of Czech officials would follow him. Thus, Šrobár, who had already turned against his former benefactor, Monsignor Andrew Hlinka, P. A., and had renounced his Catholic Faith, could and did in time impose a "Czech peace" upon a people who had illusions of cultural autonomy after centuries of oppression from Budapest.¹²

As Slovakia represented 23 percent of the Republic's population, it would have seemed logical—as the com-

petitive system was not generally used—to reserve for Slovaks 23 per cent of the positions in the central administration. Now the statistics for the Slovak civil servants during the twentieth and last year of the Czecho-Slovak Republic show the following:

	Slovaks	Civil Servants
The Parliament of Prague	1 out of	224
Service to the Chief of State	3	96
Presidency of the Council	9	153
Ministries:		
Foreign Affairs	33	1,246
Interior	2	386
Justice	12	143
Unification	6	51
National Defense	6	1,300
Generals	1	139
Industry: Civil Servants	4	417
Agriculture	11	391
Post Offices	7	305
Communications	9	1,006
Public Works	4	82
Commerce	1	322
Social Welfare	4	397
Public Health	6	182
Finance	12	630 ¹³

Of the 318,981,000 Crowns representing the sum total of the salaries paid annually to the civil servants of the Republic, the Slovaks received only 3,614,000, that is 1,1 per cent. If the 23 per cent proportion had been respected, the Slovak civil servants would have received 73,000,000 Crowns annually.¹⁴

Considering the fact that there were few Slovak intellectuals in 1918, after twenty years, the picture remained the same as regards the position of the Slovaks in the Republic. According to the Czechs, the Slovak constitutional demands have gone so far and been pressed so ruthlessly that it is not facetious to say that in Czecho-Slovakia everyone now has autonomy except the Czechs. The Czechs dismissed the Slovak behavior outwardly as the pranks of a headstrong child who has been given a new toy.¹⁵

All these problems led to the development of the autonomist movement led by Monsignor Andrew Hlinka. After the 1925 election his party, known as the Slovak People's Party, emerges as the strongest party in Slovakia (among twenty odd parties contesting the election) scoring 34% of the total votes (489,111 out of 1,425,595).¹⁶

In such an atmosphere the situation was ripening for a show-down. The young generation was predominantly autonomist and radical. Educated by Czech teachers it knew how to fight the Czechs with their own weapons. The nationalism of the Twenties with all its immature self-expression was coming of age. Its claims were now more demanding and better substantiated. There was no other way of satisfying them except by granting them. The difficult period when Slovakia had practically no nationally conscious intelligentsia, no administrative experience and no definite political aims, was now over. Even reasonable Czechs were aware of the fact that the Slovaks did not need tutelage in everything and were willing to grant gradually some sort of autonomy. In fact there was more opposition to the part of centralist Slovaks than on the part of the Czechs themselves.

III.

The Slovak problem re-emerged in all its magnitude in 1938. Up to that year it was relatively unknown outside Czecho-Slovakia, very few foreigners being aware even of its existence. The Czech-German dispute had made it a second-rate affair and being an internal one it had captured little attention abroad. But in September 1938 its presence and importance were stressed by both Hitler and Mussolini. Hitler in his speech of September 26 at the Sportpalast said that the Czechs and the Slovaks were separate nations and "the Slovaks did not want to have anything to do with the Czechs."¹⁷ Mussolini in his open letter to Runciman pointed out that "there is not only a Sudeten-German problem, there is also a Hungarian, a Polish and a Slovak problem."¹⁸ The tragi-comic element of their focusing attention on this problem lies in the fact that they were actually repeating, practically word for word, what had been said or written at least 20 years

before by Msgr. Hlinka in September, 1919 demanding an autonomous status for Slovakia in Paris.¹⁹

By the Munich Agreement of the European Big Four Slovakia was condemned to transfer to Hungary the southern zone settled by Magyars. Faced with the threat of mutilation, the country reacted healthily in knitting the national unity more closely together. The numerous parties of the former system resulting from Prague's policy of "divide et impera" were spontaneously abandoned by their leaders and replaced by a gathering together of all Slovaks of good will. The amputation decided in Vienna was painful but not fatal for the country.²⁰

On October 6, 1938, under international pressure, Prague had to make up its mind to take care of the Slovak problem. On September 22, 1938, in the course of the crisis brought on by the German question Mr. Beneš, after many postponements and three modifications, finally had the text of a plan of solution put into the hands of Monsignor Joseph Tiso, Vice-President of the Populist party in Bratislava.²¹

General John Syrový, who headed the Prague Government in Prague after Munich, nominated the First autonomous government of Slovakia. Monsignor Joseph Tiso was appointed Prime Minister. Tiso's government was empowered with full control over all matters affecting Slovak territory with the exception of foreign affairs, national finance, and national defense, which remained matters of common jurisdiction with Prague. Tiso's cabinet consisted of four ministers—Matthew Černák, Education; Ferdinand Ďurčanský, Justice; Paul Teplanský, Agriculture; John Lichner, trade and Public Works, Railroads and Post. Ďurčanský was a member of the Hlinka's People's Party, Černák was an independent autonomist, while Teplanský and Lichner were members of the Czecho-Slovak Agrarian Party.²²

Monsignor Tiso announced that Slovakia would be a part of a Federated Czecho-Slovak Republic. The hyphen was again incorporated in the title to emphasize the component parts that make up the state.

After the victory of Munich, Germany was no less determined than before to liquidate Czecho-Slovakia. Hun-

gary made demands upon territory in Slovakia which contained a heavy Hungarian population. Before March 13, 1939, Berlin was faced with the following alternative in regard to the Slovak question: either Slovakia would declare its independence and become Germany's ally, or else it would refuse—an act which would be one reason for the Reich's leaving Hungary's hands free to reconquer the former territory of the crown of St. Stephen. Hitler never ceased plotting in Budapest. As early as February, 1939, Dr. Edmund Wessenmayer, who was later to become Minister Plenipotentiary of the Third Reich in Budapest, informed Slovak politicians that Hungary was considering March 15 to attack Slovak territory. He did not forget to add that only the Declaration of Independence could ward off Hungarian intervention.²³

In March, inspite of strong autonomist tendencies, the Czech preponderance in Slovakia was still considerable. The effects of twenty years just could not be undone in several months. Mostly because of lack of qualified personnel, the officers' corps in the army units stationed in Slovakia, police and gendarmerie and higher officials in the administrative service were still largely Czech. Industry ran mostly on Czech capital and Slovak economy was closely linked to the economy of the Czech lands. These facts were realized by Tiso and it caused him to be very cautious in his actions against the Czech lands. Independence at this angle spelled great economic danger and administrative chaos in Slovakia.

Monsignor Tiso went to see Hitler and discuss the Slovak situation. Hitler definitely had no interest in anything east of the Carpathian mountains. It was indifferent to him what happened there. Hitler stated that if Slovakia wanted independence he would support this endeavor and even guarantee it. Hitler wanted Tiso to declare Slovakia's independence on the Berlin Radio, but he refused this because he did not have the right to decide Slovakia's fate. It was up to the Parliament in Bratislava to decide Slovakia's fate. Tiso called President Háchá, the president of Czecho-Slovakia to call the Slovak deputies together for the meeting of the parliament.

After an exposition by Tiso behind closed doors the

fifty-seven deputies from the Slovak Parliament voted unanimously for independence. Three quarters of an hour later the same parliament voted the following law:

Article 1. The Slovak land declared itself an independent State. The Diet of the Slovak land is transformed into a parliament of the Slovak State.

Article 2. Until the adoption of the Constitution of the Slovak State, the executive power is entrusted to the government named by the Presidency of the Parliament.

Article 3. All the laws, decrees and dispositions valid up to the present continue in force with the changes resulting from the fact of the existence of the independent Slovak State.

Article 4. By means of decrees, the government is instructed to take all measures necessary for the maintenance of order and the protection of the interests of the Slovak State.

Article 5. This law goes into effect this very day and it devolves upon the government to enforce it.

Bratislava, Slovakia, March 14, 1939

The new government comprised the Prime Minister, Msgr. Dr. Joseph Tiso; Vice-Premier, Dr. Vojtech Tuka; Foreign Affairs, Dr. Ferdinand Ďurčanský; Interior, Karol Sidor; National Defense, Lieutenant-Colonel Ferdinand Čatloš; Public Education, Joseph Sivák; Economy, Dr. Gejza Medrický; Finance, Dr. Mikuláš Pružinský; Communications and Public Works, Július Stano; Justice, Dr. Gejza Fritz.²⁵

Slovakia became Germany's ally rather than her victim as in the Czech lands, but German policy wanted to prove how happy even a small Slavic nation could be in Hitler's new order. Slovakia was recognized, and many Czech historians neglect to admit, by many countries both 'de facto' and 'de jure'. She was recognized by Poland, Hungary, and Germany in March of 1939, Italy, Switzerland, and Spain in April, and on May by Great Britain by a 'de facto' recognition. Before the outbreak of the war she was recognized by Vatican, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Sweden, Japan, Liberia, Equador, Costa Rica, both 'de facto' and 'de jure'. In addition she received recognition 'de facto' from France and Belgium. On September 17, 1939 the Soviet Union recognized Slovakia both 'de facto' and 'de jure'.

After the declaration of independence on March 14,

1939, Slovakia, for the time in over one thousand years she took her place among the nations of the earth. She no longer had strings attached to Budapest or Prague. The Slovak government first wanted to solve the problem of a heavy Czech labor force in intellectual areas of thought. "On October 1, 1938 the number of teachers in Slovakia was 345 Slovaks and 523 Czechs. This figure completely reversed by 1940 when there were 680 Slovak teachers as opposed to 73 Czech teachers."²⁷ Slovakia did have many problems in her economy which were heavily exploited by German interference.

The very fact that in 1939 a separate Slovak state could somehow exist where it would have been an impossibility twenty years earlier shown that the Slovaks had not only been able students but had also had able teachers in the Czechs. But there were still those who would show arrogance and lack of understanding for Slovak pride and spoil the atmosphere. Although some authors like Schmitt feel that the "independent Slovakia and the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia became, for all practical purpose, parts of the Reich."²⁸ Yet some authors seem to negate the fact that there was a declaration of independence by the Slovak Parliament which represented the Slovak people and only the Slovak people. Another fact which is paramount in a nation's right to life is the fact of recognition by other nations. It must be emphasized that Slovakia was recognized by nations in both camps, Allied and German.

IV.

The way in which Slovakia disappeared from the face of Europe and became again a part of the Czecho-Slovak Republic offers experts of international law and political science an interesting subject for study and investigation. Considering the fact that Slovakia was recognized by 27 states, of which two thirds were on the side of the Allies, the Slovak Republic became a member of the international community and subject to the codes of international law. We must consider the fact that Slovakia like Hungary, Finland, Bulgaria and Rumania were defeated states but they were never incorporated into any other states. According to the Atlantic Charter Slovakia should have been

treated as an existing state under military occupation and remain such until the Peace treaties were signed.

Indeed the Allies favored the Czech exiles and decided not to apply the right of self-determination and the principles of the Atlantic Charter to the Slovak people. This seems very strange because of the fact that when a state is recognized it cannot be desolved with the impression that it never had existed. "On May 8, 1945 the Slovak Government signed a document of 'protection' or 'surrender' to the Allied High Command."²⁹ Considering the fact that Slovakia never declared war against the Western Allies—Great Britain, France, or the United States. The attempts to save Slovakia as an independent state failed and her right to self-government disappeared. Never consulting the Slovak people, she was again a part of the Czecho-Slovak Republic. All signs of autonomy as evidenced before the war disappeared within the Czecho-Slovak Republic. Slovakia again became a mere appendage of the term "Czechoslovak." Slovaks could no longer speak for Slovaks but had to look to the Czechs in Prague.

V.

In conclusion the road to Slovakia's independence led through stormy days of the post-Munich period and the time of her independence on the European scene was not very propitious. But we must remember that there are some things in life in which we have no say in. It is highly unlikely that Slovakia would have survived if she had appeared after World War I due to the fact that she lacked a substantial intellectual class. The fact remains that fifty years before she possessed a larger intelligentsia than in 1918. The one thousand year sentence of subjugation under Magyarization had almost destroyed the Slovaks and their civilization.

The Slovaks owe much to the Czechs, for without them they would not have been able twenty years later to possess an intelligentsia which had multiplied in size and improved in depth and competence and stand on their own feet in March of 1939. The Czecho-Slovak Republic might have worked if it was bilateral and not unilateral as it was. The Czechs neglected to realize the

fact that children do mature and no longer need to be tied to their mother's apron strings.

It was tragic that the United States' indolence resulted in Slovakia again being incorporated into the Czecho-Slovak Republic against the will of majority of her people. It was astrous that the United States favored the Czech Beneš over the Slovak Tiso in deciding the fate of the Slovak people.

The Slovakia that did emerge on March 14, 1939 was not the archetype that I would have envisioned, for there were many things wrong, among them heavy dependence on Germany. It is both simple and sweet to assert that Adolph Hitler imposed independence on Slovakia but these allegations are not factual. The circumstances surrounding Slovakia's birth are far more complex. The Slovaks, unable to escape Central European events, reconciled themselves to the geographical and political conditions of 1939, as they thought best. Independence was not rejected, it was hailed, true some more eagerly than others.

Slovakia was a failure in one respect in that it could not avert the persecution of its Jewish population, of whom about a fourth survived the six years of Slovakia's existence. The Catholic bishops however, under the leadership of Archbishop Karol Kmet'ko, of Nitra, were as outspoken in their criticism of anti-Jewish legislation and courageous in their defense of human dignity as was anybody in Hitler's Europe.

We can all appreciate the fact that no nation on earth desires tyranny over freedom, and even some who have a different view regarding the Slovak Republic and her war-time regime. No man on earth has the right to condemn the Slovaks to be an appendage to any other nation nor to be a colony of any other nation no matter how ethnically or linguistically they are related. The Slovak does not want any Czech to use his debasive form of rhetoric in international spheres of interest on behalf of his culture, language and history but rather feels quite proficient enough to do this for himself. The Slovak nation has a God-given right to live a free and independent life according to its traditions.

One very important thing the world has to learn is the fact that the dreams and aspirations of little nations must be respected and supported even if they cramp the style of a brother nation who in the world's eyes seemingly wants only the best for its little brother. Another thing is the fact that the Slovaks do not wish to be known as Czechs or "Czechoslovaks". They are not a mere appendage but a distinct entity. If politics is the art of the impossible, then we cannot condemn the Slovaks for having achieved that impossible dream in the years of 1939-1945.

Although I am an American born of Slovak blood only on my mother's side I have come to know and love the aspirations of the Slovak people. As an American I can appreciate freedom and justice and see the same for my brothers in Slovakia. The story and traditions of the Slovak people are among the most glorious in all of history. No other nation has suffered so much nor been more misunderstood and yet still possesses a fire of determination for its freedom and self-determination. Slovakia did emerge but unfortunately was stifled, but she will again someday rise up to stand among the free and independent peoples of the earth as master of her own household. Ibsen's words from his work "An Enemy of the People, V" seem to be appropriate:

"The Strongest man in the world is he who stands most alone . . ."

- 1) F. Vnuk, "Slovakia's Six Eventful Months (Oct. 1938-March 1939)," *Slovak Studies IV, Historica II*, 1964, 14.
- 2) J. Lettrich, "The Declaration of Turčiansky Sv. Martin," *A History of Modern Slovakia*, p. 288.
- 3) F. Vnuk, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
- 4) G. L. Oddo, "To be Free of Budapest," *Slovakia and Its People*, (New York, 1960), p. 174.
- 5) *Ibid.*, p. 175.
- 6) *Ibid.*, p. 175-76
- 7) F. Vnuk, *op. cit.*, p. 16.
- 8) P. P. Yurchak, "Masaryk," *The Slovaks*, (Whiting, Ind., 1946), pp. 206.
- 9) Vnuk, *op. cit.*, p. 16.
- 10) I. Dérer, *The Unity of the Czechs and Slovaks*, (Prague, 1938) p. 32.
- 11) G. L. Oddo, "Czecho-Slovakia," *Slovakia and Its People*, (New York, 1960), p. 205.

- 12) *Ibid.*, p. 205.
- 13) J. A. Mikus, "Czecho-Slovakia (1918-1939)", *Slovakia: A Political history*, Marquette Slavic Studies ed., (Milwaukee, 1963), pp. 38-39.
- 14) *Ibid.*, p. 39.
- 15) G. F. Kennan, "Report on Conditions in Slovakia," *From Prague After Munich*, Princeton University Press ed. (Princeton, N. J. 1968), p. 19.
- 16) F. Vnuk, *op. cit.*, p. 17.
- 17) F. Vnuk, *op. cit.*, p. 23.
- 18) *Ibid.*, p. 23.
- 19) F Vnuk, *loc. cit.*
- 20) J. A. Mikus, *op. cit.*, p. 66.
- 21) *Ibid.*, p. 67.
- 22) G. L. Oddo, *op. cit.*, p. 237.
- 23) J. A. Mikus, *op. cit.*, p. 76.
- 24) J. A. Mikus, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-87.
- 25) *Ibid.*, p. 88.
- 26) *Ibid.*, pp. 135-36.
- 27) J. A. Mikus, *op. cit.*, pp. 108-09.
- 28) B. E. Schmitt, "The Road to Munich," *Czechoslovakia*, R. J. Kerner ed., (Los Angeles, 1949), p. 438.
- 29) J. M. Kirschbaum, "Twenty years of Czech and Communist Rule in Slovakia," *Slovakia*, XV, (1965), p. 80.

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(FIRST PRIZE AWARD)

General Milan Rastislav Štefánik and the Movement for Czecho-Slovak Independence

Mary Ann Kadera

It soon became apparent to Thomas G. Masaryk and the group of exiles around him; namely, Edward Beneš, Antonín Švehla, and the Doctors Hajn, Scheiner, Herban and Šámal¹ that in order to induce the allies to agree to the partition of the Dual Monarchy, the people who would be free after the partition had to make a tangible contribution to the allied war efforts. "To this end the National Czecho-Slovak Committee was established with Masaryk as head, Edward Beneš, Masaryk's right-hand man, as secretary and the great Slovak, General Milan Štefánik as vice president."² Since Štefánik was the only one of the three who had had any military experience (he had served with distinction in the French Air Force) the task of providing a Czecho-Slovak division to fight with the allied armies was given to him.

The son of a Protestant minister, Štefánik, who was born in the Slovak village of Košariská in 1880, had achieved a brilliant career as a mathematician and an astronomer of world wide stature. After completing his studies of science, law and medicine at the University of Prague, he went to Paris in 1904³ where he became Secretary to the Astronomical Observatory. As a result he was sent on scientific and astronomical missions to various parts of the world such as Mont Blanc, Spain, Oxford, Turkestan, Algiers, South America and Tahiti.⁴

Using his influence in the French social circle, Štefánik began to acquaint those in influence of Magyar tyranny and to gain their sympathy for the suffering Slovak nation.

As soon as Austria declared war on Serbs, Štefánik left Marocco where he had been engaged in astronomical observation and returned to France and enlisted as a private in the French army. (Štefánik was also a citizen

of France). After first fighting on the Western front, Štefánik was transferred to the French Air Force in January and in July 1915 took part in the battles on the Aisne and near Ypres.⁵ Afterwards he was sent as an airman to Serbia. Having no contact with Masaryk or his plans as yet, Štefánik already thought of organizing a separate corps of Slovaks who had fought against their convictions on the side of Austria-Hungary and who had been captured by the Allies. Due to the Serbian retreat he was forced to abandon this plan.

Toward the end of November, Štefánik arrived in Rome on a special torpedo boat from Vallona. While in Rome his fame as a member of the French Academy led to his acquaintance with the French Ambassador, Monsieur Barrère and Sonnino, the Italian Foreign Minister.

Upon returning to Paris, Štefánik became associated with Masaryk and Beneš. Thus the nucleus of the Czecho-Slovak Legion was organized in France.

It was Štefánik who held the link to the important government officials who would one day decide the fate of Austria-Hungary and with it Czecho-Slovakia.

Štefánik travelled to Italy where he used his influence to spread the cause of establishing an independent state for the Czechs and the Slovaks after the defeat of Austria-Hungary. In July and August of 1916⁶ he visited Russia where he conferred with all military authorities and even with the Tsar who sent, through Štefánik, greetings to Masaryk and approval of his policy.

From Russia Štefánik went to the Rumanian front where he organized many volunteer Slovak prisoners for military service in France which arrived in the summer of 1917. He returned to Russia in January 1917 and then proceeded to Paris. While in Paris, he kept in touch with the Southern Slavic states and Italy. Then, he continued to Rome.⁷

Of Štefánik and his journey, Thomas G. Masaryk, in his book, *The Making of a State*, comments:

His methods were those of an apostle rather than of a diplomat and soldier. In Paris, where he had gradually made a circle of friends and admirers, he smoothed the way for me and for Dr. Beneš in many an influential quarter and he did the same in Rome. When I think of him I always remember the picture of

our little Slovak tinkers who wander throughout the world; but this Slovak wandered through all the Allied fronts, through all Government Departments, political drawing-rooms and Courts. From him Marshall Foch heard for the first time about us and our work against Austria.⁸

"But perhaps Štefánik's most important contribution to the future of his people was the visit he made to the United States in 1917."⁹ In the United States, American Slovaks and Czechs were promoting the cause of Czecho-Slovakia. It was Štefánik who was largely responsible for the combining of the two efforts (one here and the other in Paris) toward the common goal both were seeking.

Although the American Slovaks wanted a Slovakia free of Magyar rule, they distrusted the idea of uniting with the Czechs who were numerically superior. Before they would accept this union, they had to be guaranteed that Slovakia would be a political and cultural autonomy in the proposed new state. For this reason representatives of the Czech National Alliance and the Slovak League met and signed the Cleveland Agreement.

In the Agreement three main points were emphasized: 1) The new state would be a federal republic consisting of both Czech lands (Moravia, Bohemia and Silesia) and Slovakia. 2) Slovakia would be nationally autonomous, it would have its own administration, schools and cultural development and also the use of the Slovak language within its borders. 3) Voting suffrage in Czecho-Slovakia would be secret, universal and direct.¹⁰

But despite the good will which was created by the Cleveland Agreement, Slovak fears of "Czechism" still persisted. There was good reason for this fear. In 1916 Czech spokesmen began to use the term "Czechia" to describe the Council's objectives, the Council's publication, "*Samostatnost*," talked unceasingly of the Czech army, *the Czech* language and the *Czech* culture, leaving no doubt that for them the new state was to be dominated by the Czechs. Even Masaryk stated in an official communique to London that "The Slovaks are Czechs." In so doing, he not only ignored a thousand years of history but also brought the full weight of Slovak wrath upon him.

In his reply to Masaryk, Vladimír Hurban wrote to Masaryk in 1917:

There is not a single Slovak in all Slovakia who would call himself a Czech. Slovaks regard themselves as an ethnically distinct nation, as such we have lived and suffered. As Slovaks we hope to see dawn of liberty for our land; we wish to unite with Czechs in one political state, but only if our national and cultural autonomy will be safeguarded.¹¹

In order to counteract the Pan-Czech attitude and to have the Cleveland Agreement gain wider acceptance in Europe, the Slovak League of America sent Gustáv Košík, editor of the Catholic Sokol and Dr. Stephen Osuský, a lawyer and a Protestant minister, as its representative to the National Council.

During this time the recruitment of the Czech-Slovak foreign legion was going very slowly. For this reason Edward Beneš requested the French government to entrust Štefánik with the mission of organizing volunteers among the American Czechs and Slovaks for the army in France with the approval of the United States government. Permission was granted while Štefánik was still in Russia. Štefánik postponed this trip to the United States in order to complete his work in Rumania where he gained one thousand¹² prisoners for the Czecho-Slovak army.

Before Štefánik's departure, the French government had already sent a special political commission headed by Franklin Bouillon to gain the permission of the United States government for this task.

Upon arriving in America in June 1917¹³ Štefánik through the French ambassador, Jusserand, immediately contacted the government officials in Washington. After a conference with the then Secretary of State, Lansing, in which Jusserand stressed the loyalty of the Czechs and Slovaks to the United States of America, permission was granted to all Czechs and Slovaks not subject to military duty in the American army to join the Czecho-Slovak Legion in France. Besides the recruitment, Štefánik also had to see to the financial and travelling arrangements.

While in the United States, Štefánik contacted American journalists and wrote several articles on the cause for the newspapers. He aroused both the interest of F. H. Allen of the "World" and of Gordon Smith, ("The New Republic,") and his articles soon appeared in their magazines.

Theodore Roosevelt, Lansing Frank and A. Polk (later the head of the American delegation at the Peace Conference at Versailles) were other influential people with whom Štefánik came in close contact.¹⁴

It has been conceded by most historians that Štefánik achieved his greatest success in the United States by securing the cooperation of both parties (the Czechs and the Slovaks) in the Czecho-Slovak movement.

Štefánik was a true Slovak patriot. "While dealing with him the American Slovaks could be sure of an integrity and a sincere awareness of Slovak affairs they often found missing in Czech leaders."¹⁵ For this reason, Štefánik was able to dispel the skepticism with which the Slovaks had greeted any and all manifestations of centralist Pan-Czechism.

The first important meeting between Štefánik and the Czechs and the Slovaks was held on July 1, 1917 at the Congress Hall Hotel in Washington. Dr. Fisher, President of the Czech National Society; Albert Mamatey, President of the Slovak League; Emil Voska; Ivan Daxner; Charles Pergler; Dr. Hrdlička; Ivan Bielek; and, Ferdinand Písecký were some of the important men who attended. "Štefánik reported on conditions in Russia but the main object of the meeting was to arrange the military organization and the cooperation of the Czechs and Slovaks. At this meeting Daxner raised the Czecho-Slovak question and against his so-called 'autonomistic attitude,' Štefánik emphasized the necessity of forming a politically inseparable state and not an ethnographically inseparable one."¹⁶ (Whether Štefánik envisioned a separate Slovak assembly in Bratislava to handle Slovak affairs is not clear.)

Charles Pergler who also attended the meeting has asserted:

"Naturally, the representatives of the Slovak organizations of the future Czechoslovak state often came to Štefánik. Štefánik always insisted that it was the concern of the nation at home, that it alone must decide concerning its future organization, in short, that it is impossible to dictate from beyond the borders of the country and that every such attempt would be futile. Whenever the question of Slovak autonomy arose, he decidedly pointed out, that no guarantees could be demanded from those living outside of the new state."¹⁷

However, it is impossible to deny the fact that Štefánik, although he gave no written promise, did reach an agreement with the American Slovaks and succeeded in gaining their cooperation with the American Czechs without the Slovaks relinquishing their principles.

Štefánik in a ringing declaration on September 16 at the Carnegie Hall mass meeting told several thousand compatriots that "Our fight against Austria-Hungary can end only when both our fraternal nations, the Czechs and the Slovaks, are united in an independent State free of Magyar-German domination."¹⁸ It was at this meeting also that Franklin Bouillon made the first public statement by an influential allied statesman officially calling for the dismemberment of Austria-Hungary.

At a meeting held in New York on September 20, Štefánik was able to dispel the fears of the Slovak Catholic clergymen—that Slovak Catholicism would suffer at the hands of a completely Czechized non-Catholic or perhaps anti-Catholic government in Prague.

Štefánik and the Clergy agreed that the new state would have to guarantee religious in addition to cultural freedom for Slovakia before the American Slovaks would give their full support to it.

Of the success of this meeting Beneš later wrote: "The meeting with the Slovak priests was very important because at this meeting Štefánik broke all suspicion and unwillingness of the priests as regards the movement for independence . . ."¹⁹

Although Štefánik's delicate health prohibited him from making many public appearances, when he did, however, he succeeded in making a deep impression upon his listeners. He spoke both Slovak and Czech and would sometimes pass from one language into the other in the same speech. "He gained the confidence off the people by his enthusiasm and his fascinating manner as well as with his firm and uncompromising attitude towards all things."²⁰

In other meetings which were held Štefánik met with presidents of the Slovak and Czech organizations (July 1); received a deputation of Slovaks headed by Milan Getting

(July 24); was present at a meeting of Czecho-Slovak artists (August 13); and, in September addressed the Czech and Slovak women of New York.²¹

After a meeting which took place between the sixteenth and eighteenth of October, Štefánik along with other Czech and Slovak leaders organized a Czecho-Slovak military committee in order that the recruiting could proceed in an organized manner. After the meeting recruiting was begun by a proclamation for mobilization by Štefánik who also issued instructions for the Czecho-Slovak soldiers in America. The country was divided into four sections each with a separate "reporter" who was responsible to Štefánik. This plan later had to be adjusted.

The recruiting did not go as well as had been expected. Many of the Czechs and Slovaks had already joined the Canadian army even before the United States entered the War and, forty thousand²² joined the American army soon after the United States entered. Thus, only two thousand five hundred²³ men were recruited.

Having completed the task of cementing Czecho-Slovak relationships in the United States, Štefánik was granted permission by French General Vignal to return to Paris in order to organize the Czechs in France. Vignal highly praised Štefánik's work in America in a telegram sent on November 5 and December 5, 1917 saying:

"He proved to possess the highest degree of tact, discipline and sense for organization. His personal influence in all matters was such that no misunderstanding arose during his stay and all the Czech groups followed his directions" and again "I am not able to praise sufficiently this great patriot, coolheaded and inspired by the most honest and highest feelings. Full of tact and wisdom, he gained the sympathies of the highest officials of the American Ministry of Foreign Affairs and he organized with the greatest success the recruiting of the Czechoslovaks."²⁴

All of this time, the collapse of Austria-Hungary continued steadily. In 1918 for the first time the Czech members of the Reichsrat demanded a sovereign state of their own. The establishment of Czecho-Slovakia had only vaguely been an allied war aim. However, when the Allies realized how important a Czech and Slovak movement free of Bolshevism would be in central Europe, the National Council then began to make progress. It was

Štefánik's Czecho-Slovak legion in Russia that finally swayed the tide of allied opinion. The legion had remained apart from and had even fought against the Bolsheviks and, for this reason, Allied statesmen took another look at Masaryk's National Council and its aims.

May 30, 1918 Thomas Masaryk signed the Pittsburgh Pact which guaranteed Slovakia its autonomy.

"On September 3, 1918 Masaryk and the National Council were recognized as the de-facto government of Czecho-Slovakia. The new government now had legal existence."²⁵

However, the feeling which followed this was short-lived. It was soon discovered that Masaryk did not take the signing of the Pittsburgh Pact seriously as can be seen by the statement, "it (the Pittsburgh Pact) was concluded in order to appease a small faction which was dreaming of God knows what sort of independence for Slovakia."²⁶ According to Gilbert L. Oddo, the Slovaks in America should have insisted that Štefánik, too, sign the Pittsburgh Pact thus binding the National Council itself.

The declaration of independence that was presented to Secretary of State Lansing in order to be approved had stated: "that the rights of Bohemia might be united to those of the Slovak brethren in Slovakia, once a part of our (Czech) state..."²⁷

Štefánik was displeased with the manner and the wording of the declaration. An aide had written that the General was disturbed because the proclamation was issued in Washington instead of Paris; issued without his previous knowledge; and, that Masaryk had affixed his (Štefánik's) signature to it without prior consultation. Štefánik voiced these objections both to Masaryk and Beneš by telegraph on October eighteenth.²⁸

Soon after Masaryk's National Council took over the Czecho-Slovak government in Prague on October 28, 1918²⁹ other atrocities were committed to make Slovakia seem more insignificant. Dr. Vavro Šrobár was appointed by Prague as Minister Plenipotentiary for the administration of Slovakia. He had surrounded himself solely with Prague-educated Czechophiles and was strongly against any form of Slovak autonomy.

At the Peace Conference at Versailles in 1919, the Slovak nation was included in Czecho-Slovakia only because Masaryk and Beneš asserted that the Slovaks were Czechs who spoke a dialect of the Czech language. When Andrew Hlinka, the great Slovak fighter for autonomy and leader of the Slovak People's Party, wanted to expose this false claim, he was expelled. He was later imprisoned by the Czechs.

But the worst blow to Slovakia was the death of General Milan Štefánik amidst circumstances that have been suspected ever since. A little after 11 a.m. on May 4, 1919 the Italian plane—Caproni No. 11,495, carrying Štefánik to Czecho-Slovakia to take up his duties as first Minister of Defense in the Czecho-Slovak Republic, circled the Vajnory Airport near Bratislava for a landing. In one blind flash the plane rocked, burst into flames, and crashed to the ground, a victim of an anti-aircraft barrage thrown up by the Czecho-Slovak military garrison at the field on orders from its Czech commanding officer.

Prague tried to keep the tragedy very secret. When that proved to be impossible, Štefánik's death was explained as an accident. The commanding officer had thought it to be an enemy plane. "But despite all the rationalizing attempts of Czech propaganda, eye witnesses still alive today, as well as certain members of the military garrison, insist that the shooting was willful, that Štefánik was deliberately murdered."³⁰

Masaryk expressed his personal regrets but refused to have the "accident" investigated either because it would damage the negotiations at Versailles or perhaps because it would give damaging evidence of Czech duplicity and deceit.

Štefánik had been openly displeased with the slighting reference to Slovakia in Masaryk's declaration of independence. "Štefánik was a fierce Slovak patriot who would not stand still to the Czech centralism, the outline of which by this time had already been revealed."³¹ He was a Slovak Christian who could never compromise with the rationalist agnosticism of the chief policy makers in Prague. Štefánik was thus an "inconvenient gadfly"³² to Czech plans to make Slovakia a part of the "great Czechia" that

the National Council had dreamed of. The death of Štefánik served Prague well. It can only be suspected if it was planned that way.

Even from the sketchy reference to his work and the surprisingly meagre sources available to the historian of today, it is clearly evident that in courage, in self-sacrifice, in tact and ability in diplomacy, in integrity, and in zeal for the cause he was not surpassed by anyone of the leaders in the Czecho-Slovak movement for independence.³³

Thus, with Štefánik's death the year 1919 came to a tragic close. The autonomy which had been sought, cherished and died for under Magyar rule still seemed a remote hope. Indeed, Slovakia did not become an independent state until 1939 under Tiso.

- 1) S. Harrison Thomson, *Czecho-Slovakia in European History*, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1944, p. 252.
- 2) Gilbert L. Oddo, *Slovakia And Its People*, New York: Robert Speller & Sons, 1960, p. 160.
- 3) Dr. Thomas Garigue Masaryk, *The Making of a State*, New York: Frederick A. Stokes, 1927, p. 191.
- 4) *Ibid.*
- 5) *Ibid.*
- 6) *Ibid.*
- 7) *Ibid.*, p. 102.
- 8) *Ibid.*, p. 104.
- 9) Gilbert L. Oddo, *op. cit.*, p. 161.
- 10) *Ibid.*, p. 162.
- 11) *Ibid.*, p. 163.
- 12) Stephanie O. Husek, "General Milan Rastislav Stefanik in America," *Jednota Katolícky Kalendár*, 1938, p. 184.
- 13) Gilbert L. Oddo, *op. cit.*, p. 165.
- 14) Stephanie O. Husek, *op. cit.*, p. 185.
- 15) Gilbert L. Oddo, *op. cit.*, p. 166.
- 16) Stephanie O. Husek, *op. cit.*, p. 189.
- 17) *Ibid.*
- 18) Gilbert L. Oddo, *op. cit.*, p. 167.
- 19) *Ibid.*, pp. 168-169.
- 20) Stephanie O. Husek, *op. cit.*, p. 190.
- 21) *Ibid.*
- 22) *Ibid.*, p. 183.
- 23) *Ibid.*, p. 184.
- 24) *Ibid.*, p. 192.
- 25) Gilbert L. Oddo, *op. cit.*, p. 177.
- 26) *Ibid.*, p. 176.
- 27) *Ibid.*, p. 183.
- 28) *Ibid.*
- 29) *Ibid.*, p. 182.
- 30) *Ibid.*, pp. 191-192.

31) *Ibid.*, p. 192.

32) *Ibid.*

33) Stephanie O. Husek, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

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(SECOND PRIZE AWARD)

Svätopluk: Political Opportunist or National Hero?

Mary Susan Sabol

Great Moravia, founded in the early ninth century, was the first political organization established by the Danubian Slavs without foreign leadership or foreign interference. Because of the Frankish pressure on the Slavs after the Avar's fall, the Slavs under Mojmir I determined to create an independent state, with its power centers at Devín and Nitra, based on the tradition of the previous Samo state. Great Moravia achieved its greatest power and influence under Svätopluk, of the Mojmirid line, from 871 to 894.¹

In 870, Svätopluk, regent of Nitra, plotted with German backing against his uncle, Rastislav, ruler of the Great Moravian Empire.² When Rastislav heard of the plot, he challenged Svätopluk to do battle. Rastislav, however, was defeated and taken prisoner by the Germans. Svätopluk was entrusted with Great Moravia by Carloman, son of Louis the German. Soon Svätopluk lost the confidence of the Germans; was deposed and imprisoned.

Louis the German feared Svätopluk was building a strong Slavic state that could pose a threat to his German Empire. Consequently, Slavomír, a Moravian prince, was elected by the Slavs to take over Svätopluk's position of leadership, and initiated a rebellion against the Germans.³ Svätopluk convinced Carloman to allow him to direct a siege of the fortress of Devín, where he betrayed his troops, destroyed the German army, and again became the ruler of the Great Moravian Empire. He pressed the offensive against the Germans, and in 873, he defeated Carloman decisively. Carloman sought a truce, and in 874, he signed a treaty with Svätopluk at Forsheim which acknowledged the independence of Great Moravia. Svätopluk then waged wars against Panonia, Bohemia, the Vislanians, and the Lusatian Serbs to extend the frontier of his empire. Because Carloman's son and successor as one of the claimants of the German Empire, Arnulf, also feared a large Slavic state on his eastern border, he sought an alliance with the Magyars against Great Moravia and attacked Devín several times during the remainder of Svätopluk's reign. The empire always repulsed those attacks as long as Svätopluk lived.⁴

It is almost impossible to determine the motives of a man who lived over a millenium ago, yet the question arises whether Svätopluk sought control and expansion of the Great Moravian Empire to satisfy his own powerlust, or whether he was convinced of the importance and necessity of a united Slavic peoples, and determined to create such a union. Svätopluk's first move for power appears to be a traitorous one. It is doubtful that he questioned his uncle's statesmanship and loyalty to the Slavic state, because Rastislav considered the independence of his country most important. He was painfully aware of the German military and cultural imperialistic foreign policy.⁵

Consequently, he strengthened his country militarily. Fortresses were built, a strong army was trained, and support was obtained from the other Moravian princes who still retained their lands after the fall of Mojmir, the predecessor of Rastislav. Rastislav was able to defeat the attacking German armies in 855, thus gaining even greater support from the local princes.⁶ By this time,

Great Moravia was secure, and Rastislav was able to concentrate on the domestic problems in his country.

Rastislav publicly opposed the Carolingian brand of Christianity the German missionaries were imposing on the Slavs in a foreign language. He realized that the Christian culture spread by the German clerics would inevitably cause the ebbing of Slavonic community among his people and a gradual German takeover of the Great Moravian Empire.⁷ However, Rastislav was aware of the political advantage Christianity held for the Slavs. If the Slavic people accepted it, the Christian faith might be an invaluable link in the alliance of the Slavs against their enemies.⁸ He turned to the East and asked Michael III, Emperor at Constantinople, to send missionaries who would teach in the Slavonic language.⁹ In 863, Rastislav welcomed the brothers, Constantine and Methodius to his domain to teach Christianity in the vernacular.¹⁰

The German bishops in Salzburg, Passau, and Regensburg and the Bavarian missionaries in Moravia protested against the activities of the eastern missionaries, accusing them of initiating dangerous liturgical reforms and ignoring German ecclesiastical authority. Constantine and Methodius were called to Rome to defend themselves.¹¹ After convincing the papacy of their orthodoxy, and then, after Constantine's untimely death, Methodius returned alone to Great Moravia as archbishop and papal legate with the authority to organize the Church among the Slavs, and with the permission to use the Slavonic liturgy.¹² The German bishops flouted the papacy's approval of Methodius' apostolate and imprisoned him.

At this time, Church-state affairs were considerably integrated. Papal authority in secular affairs developed as a result of fifth century papal thinking, which held that ecclesiastical and secular jurisdictions were distinct, but papal authority was considered superior to secular power because the papacy had sovereign authority, whereas the secular leadership had only derivative administrative authority.¹³ Theoretically under the pope's authority, the Church's bishops, who were often from aristocratic families, asserted their leadership and influence in major European cities. They created the only effective replace-

ment for the diminishing secular organization of society, becoming the main secular power of their districts. However, because of their own power bases, the bishops were often tempted and often did, in fact, flout the pope's dictates, creating division not necessarily between the pope and secular ruler, but between the pope and bishops, with the secular ruler siding with either one, as occurred in the Great Moravia case.¹⁴

Svätopluk, during his regency at Nitra, championed the German opposition in the Moravian religious controversy in order to gain the German backing for his attempt to usurp Rastislav's power.¹⁵ Thus, Svätopluk's first major powerplay was made after his extensive effort to form a strong political alliance with the Germans succeeded.

Svätopluk proved to be a strong and independent ruler once in control of the Great Moravian Empire. Having achieved the headship of state, he sought the absolute control of the Moravian Empire. Soon, however, the Germans suspected his loyalty to the German Empire. Consequently, in 871, Svätopluk was deposed and imprisoned, despite his denial of charges for having plotted against the German Crown.¹⁶

Svätopluk continued to play his political games with the Germans despite his temporary loss of a power base. Carloman was unable to suppress, after several attempts, Slavomír's rebellion. Therefore, Svätopluk asked to lead an army against Slavomír.¹⁷ Carloman finally decided to risk Svätopluk's leadership, and sent the Slav in command of the German army to put down the Moravian uprising, trusting for the success of the arrangement to Svätopluk's gratitude and to the division among the Moravian princes.¹⁸ When the army reached Devín, Svätopluk ordered his men to encamp below the fortress while he went up to the castle under the pretenses of persuading the Moravians under Slavomír to surrender without a fight.¹⁹ However, since the most he could receive from a German victory was limited control of Great Moravia under German hegemony, although he would more likely be imprisoned eventually for trying to build a strong Moravian Empire again, Svätopluk decided that the Germans had outlived their usefulness to his quest for power. Consequently, he

reversed his loyalties, betrayed his command, and told Slavomír of a plan he had to defeat the German army. Then, taking command of the Moravian forces, Svätopluk waged a surprise attack on the men he was commanding the previous day. The German troops were crushed under the savage attack.²⁰

Svätopluk continued to press the offensive against Carloman until the German sought a truce in 873. The following year at Forsheim, Carloman signed an agreement recognizing the independence of the Great Moravian Empire.²¹ Svätopluk's ambition to have absolute control of Great Moravia was finally realized.

It was no longer politically expedient for Svätopluk to curry German favor, so he turned to his Slav neighbors to strengthen his power position. He married the sister of the Czech duke, Bořivoj, to broaden the sphere of his influence to include Bohemia.²² He brought the Pannonians and the Lusatian Serbs under his rule and defeated the powerful pagan ruler of the Vislanian Poles. His extended Great Moravian Empire appears to have been more of a federation than an empire, which was created by the alliances of the overpowered Slavic princes under the leadership of Svätopluk.²³

The foreign policy of the Great Moravian Empire under Rastislav was reshaped by Svätopluk. He wanted to gain the support of the papacy in Rome rather than that of the Byzantine Emperor.²⁴ In 879, the relationship between the East Frankish Empire and Rome was cool, and the Byzantine Empire was considered a theological threat to Christianity. Svätopluk reasoned that the pope would want and need an ally. Therefore, he sent his personal envoy, Zemežízeň, along with Archbishop Methodius, who had been freed in 873 from his German captors, to secure for his empire the recognition and "protection" of the papacy.²⁵

However, Svätopluk did not return the favor to Methodius and back his position on ecclesiastical matters. Methodius had been freed after three years of German imprisonment, through the efforts of Pope John VIII, who suspended the German bishops and threatened them with excommunication.²⁶ In 879, however, Methodius was

summoned to Rome again to appear before the Roman Synod. Through the instigation of Wiching, a German Benedictine who Svätopluk appointed Bishop of Nitra during Methodius' imprisonment, the German bishops charged Methodius with supporting and teaching the Greek heresy of the Single Procession. Again, Methodius defended himself successfully, convinced the pope that he accepted his authority, and returned to Moravia with the pope's blessing.²⁷

After this contrived issue was resolved, the actual dispute was brought to a head. The German bishops were determined to prove the Slavonic liturgy unlawful, and to abolish the Archbishopric of Moravia. They declared that the use of the "barbarous" Slavonic language in the liturgy degraded the religious service. Their argument was a reference in the scriptures which described the inscription Pilate had written on the Cross in Latin, Greek and Hebrew. Methodius argued that on Pentecost, the apostles taught about the Christ in all the languages so that all present could understand. The pope rejected the German clergy's argument, and, once again, sanctioned the apostolic works of Methodius.²⁸

Svätopluk found it convenient to side with the German bishops on this issue. Pope John suggested that Svätopluk and his courtiers could use the Latin liturgy at his court, if they really felt that strongly about the liturgy issue.²⁹

Pope John also made a statement concerning Svätopluk's appointment of Wiching as Bishop of Nitra. The pope was aware of Svätopluk's intention to counterbalance the authority of Methodius. Therefore, he agreed to recognize the appointment provided that Wiching was subordinate to Methodius. John also recommended that Svätopluk appoints future bishops with Methodius' advice and consent.³⁰ Of course, the pope was protecting his own political interests. Methodius was the safer party to back, rather than the German bishops, whose first loyalties were always to the German Empire.

Svätopluk even used Methodius when his political position would be enhanced. He subtly used Methodius' presence in Rome to try to obtain the recognition of his Great Moravian Empire by the papacy in 879. However,

Svätopluk generally opposed the efforts of the missionary, because of his fierce hatred for Methodius.³¹ Svätopluk was a nominal Christian who still followed pagan practices. His behavior made Methodius' task of creating a solid organization among the Slavs more difficult, since their leader did not take the Christian faith seriously. It appears as though Methodius reproached him on occasion for his irresponsibility, and Svätopluk naturally resented it.³² The hostility that existed between Methodius and Svätopluk might have eventually resulted in the exile or death of the archbishop, had not the relations between Svätopluk and Arnulf become cold because of Arnulf's growing influence in Pannonia.

Svätopluk's preoccupation with Arnulf's menacing prevented the Moravian ruler from taking stronger action against Methodius. However, after Methodius' death in 885, Svätopluk rejected the archbishop's chosen successor, Gorazd, warmed his relations with Arnulf, and expelled Methodius' closest followers from Moravia. Slavic services were outlawed by Svätopluk; a new pope was elected in Rome, who condoned Svätopluk's action; and the German priests of the Latin rite took control of the church organization in the Great Moravian Empire.³³

Arnulf never trusted the strong Moravian ruler on his borders. Therefore, he sought an alliance with the Magyars, who had recently migrated to the vicinity, to destroy the Slavic empire. Yet, despite the numerous German-Magyar attacks, Great Moravia thrived until the death of Svätopluk in 894.³⁴

Svätopluk's record as ruler of the Great Moravian Empire is almost a flawless case study for Hans Morgenthau's power school theory, which asserts that all politics is a struggle for power.³⁵ The evidence shows that throughout his public life, Svätopluk would use any means to gain and maintain power. His initial rise to power was cloaked in treachery. After he lost his power, he managed to persuade his captor to trust him with an army which was to attack Svätopluk's countrymen, only to betray his army and seize control of Great Moravia again. He waged wars recurrently to extend his influence over the Slavs, and to stand up to the Germans. He negotiated

alliances when they would strengthen his position. It appears that he always gave his support or sought support only when it was politically expedient.

Since every move Svätopluk made seemed to be a politically expedient one, one of his official policies does not fit into the pattern. For the most part, he actively opposed the Christianization of the Great Moravian Empire in the Slavonic language. He rejected Rastislav's contention that Slavonic Christianity would enhance the ethnic community of the Great Moravian Empire, fortify it from German culture, and, especially, create a strong bond among the Slavic peoples. Svätopluk must have realized that his own power could only be strengthened under such circumstances, yet, he continually opposed Methodius' activities.

Historians propose that Svätopluk was against the archbishop because Methodius rebuked him for his pagan ways, which hindered the effectiveness of the apostle's mission. Svätopluk's relations with Methodius seem to be the one major contradiction in the former's career. For the wily Svätopluk to jeopardize his power over a personality conflict seems out of character, which leads one to suspect that he might have considered Methodius to be larger threat to his power than the Germans were. Though the German bishops were temporal princes as well as spiritual leaders, Svätopluk was probably confident in his ability to deal with them. He might have feared Methodius because of the missionary's widespread popularity and influence over all the Slavs, which could have easily been used to the advantage of the archbishop if he sought temporal power as the German bishops did. If Svätopluk did consider Methodius a threat to his power, and not just a bothersome conscience, such a threat would be far more immediate to Svätopluk than a German cultural-imperialistic foreign policy, and therefore, his antagonism toward Methodius would be understandable.

The evidence, construed from the few known facts about Svätopluk, would suggest that Svätopluk was indeed a political opportunist. However, the Slovak romantic writers of the nineteenth century, in an effort to create a feeling of a glorious national past among their people,

cast Svätopluk into the role of a great national hero whose sole intention was to build a strong Slavic state for the Slavs in East Central Europe. Ján Hollý, a leading Slovak poet, in his epic, "Svätopluk," gives an exaggerated picture of Svätopluk's victories in his military campaigns for independence and enlargement of the Great Moravian Empire.³⁶ Most of the nineteenth century writers embroidered legend over fact to create a very noble Svätopluk, downplaying his crimes because, according to their sources, he repented in the end anyway. Slovak romantics wanted a national hero with integrity, selfless motivation, and absolute devotion to the Slavic Empire. Consequently, they squeezed Svätopluk into their conceived mold of a national hero, rewriting history in the process.

Too many kings and soldiers who tremendously increased the power and prestige of a nation are either remembered mainly for their treachery and cruelty, or are recast into noble superhuman King Arthurs and Lancelots, while some bishops and priests, who may have weakened the national consciousness and national independence by preaching foremost loyalty to the Church, are revered and even considered "symbols of a distinctive national life."³⁸

Svätopluk was a cruel and unscrupulous antagonist of Methodius and his disciples. He was treacherous in usurping his uncle's power. He was a talented politician who used every legitimate, as well as illegitimate, form of statescraft to increase his power. He was a political opportunist. Svätopluk was on the opposite side of the spectrum from the virtuous hero the nineteenth century romantics wanted to make him. Yet, from the objective nationalistic viewpoint, he did establish Slavic greatness. He did champion the independence of the Slavic Empire. He did defend the Great Moravian Empire against the barbaric Magyar invaders.³⁹ Under Svätopluk's leadership, Great Moravia became the center of a strong Slavic alliance. Svätopluk wielded an authority over the Slav princes which was at least equal to that of the German Emperor over the princes which were subject to him.⁴⁰

The impact of Svätopluk's unified Slavic state has influenced Slavic political history throughout the last

twelve hundred years. Svätopluk developed the tradition of unity.

FOOTNOTES

- 1) Oscar Halecki, *Borderlands of Western Civilization* (New York, 1952), p. 25; hereafter cited as Halecki.
- 2) Gilbert L. Oddo, *Slovakia and Its People* (New York, N. Y., 1960), p. 15; hereafter cited as Oddo.
- 3) Oddo, p. 16.
- 4) Oddo, pp. 17-18.
- 5) Joseph Škultéty, *Sketches from Slovak History* (Middletown, Pa., 1930), p. 10; hereafter cited as Škultéty.
- 6) P. Yurchak, *The Slovaks* (Scranton, Pa., 1946), p. 35; hereafter cited as Yurchak.
- 7) Škultéty, p. 10.
- 8) C. Edmund Maurice, *Bohemia* (New York, 1896), p. 10; hereafter cited as Maurice.
- 9) Oddo, p. 12.
- 10) Maurice, p. 10.
- 11) Yurchak, p. 51.
- 12) Yurchak, p. 52.
- 13) Norman Cantor, *Western Civilization Its Genesis and Destiny* (Glenview, Ill., 1969), p. 301; hereafter cited as Cantor.
- 14) Cantor, p. 301.
- 15) Maurice, p. 11.
- 16) Oddo, p. 16.
- 17) Oddo, p. 16.
- 18) Yurchak, p. 36.
- 19) Oddo, p. 17.
- 20) Oddo, p. 17.
- 21) Oddo, p. 17.
- 22) Maurice, p. 12.
- 23) Yurchak, p. 37.
- 24) František Kavka, *An Outline of Czechoslovak History* (Prague, 1963), p. 18; hereafter cited as Kavka.
- 25) Oddo, p. 17.
- 26) Oddo, p. 17.
- 27) Maurice, p. 14.
- 28) Maurice, p. 15.
- 29) Maurice, p. 15.
- 30) Maurice, p. 15.
- 31) R. W. Seton-Watson, *A History of the Czechs and Slovaks* (Hamden, Conn., 1965), p. 13; hereafter cited as Seton-Watson.
- 32) Oddo, p. 18.

- 33) Maurice, p. 16.
- 34) Frederick G. Heymann, *Poland and Czechoslovakia* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1966), p. 27.
- 35) Hans J. Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations* (New York, 1967), 4th ed., p. 3.
- 36) Yurchak, p. 37.
- 37) Seton-Watson, p. 25.
- 38) Maurice, p. 18.
- 39) Maurice, p. 19.
- 40) Maurice, p. 19.

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(THIRD PRIZE AWARD)

Slovaks

A PART OF THE GREAT EMIGRATION TO AMERICA

Joseph John Krájsa

The Slovak nation and the Slovak people, who have had their own territory of Slovakia since the sixth century in Central Europe, and who were a part of the great emigration to America, have left their indelible imprint on the character of America.

Slovakia's history is a very tragic one. This country has suffered for over 1,100 years from every type of oppression ever conceived by man. It is one of the oldest Christian nations in Central Europe, and has suffered under foreign domination more than any other nation. At times the Slovaks have been misunderstood and misrepresented, but they clung to their language, religion, customs, and traditions. The Slovaks lived through the predominance of feudalistic Hungary, the glory of the Magyars and the Czechs, and presently the Slovaks are ever determined to outlive the terror of Communism that has been thrust on them since 1945.

Until recent years, very little has been written in this country on the history and culture of the Slovak people, in spite of the fact that almost one-third of all the Slovaks in the world live in the United States and Canada.¹

In area Slovakia is larger than Switzerland or Denmark. It lies along the northern shores of the Central Danube River, where its slopes on the east touch the Alps and the western slopes the Carpathian mountains. Since the beginning of European history, a route run through the gate of the Danube basin connecting the West and the East. Because of this fact, Slovakia is a nation that blends the culture of the West with the Eastern Slovanic culture even though the Romans withdraw from the Danube at the end of the 4th century.

Oppressive measures continued for centuries in one form or another, but when it became possible to rid themselves of this oppression, the Slovaks migrated to

America to help mould the American culture—one rooted in the best traditions which they brought with them.

True, the Slovaks began coming to America after 1875 in great numbers and before the great exodus itself, there hardly was a family in Slovakia which did not have at least one relative in America.

The Slovaks were not always welcomed in the locale where they settled. When my grandfather arrived in America in 1906, he was stoned by the “Americans” from the railroad station until he arrived in the section of the town called a Ward where all the “foreigners” were living. When he became settled, he was hard at work like the rest of the immigrants. He worked as a wiremaker (drotár) and became what the handbook, “Gateway to Citizenship”, prepared by the Department of Justice, said in tribute:

The Slovak

The endlessly unbowed,
That gave the west continent
The proudest and best of my
Broad backs and eager youth...
Ask the coal you burn, who mined it,
The ore, what worker wrung it from the earth,
The bridge, what man bound its steel together—
An every third answer will be a ‘Slovak’...
And shall you forget me?²

President Taft did not forget when he said of the Slovaks:

The truth is, we need a little poetry among our native Americans; we need an appreciation of poetic ideals; we need to have mixed with our every-day humdrum life a little bit of the romance that you bring from the old country and we welcome you on that account.^{2a}

President Franklin D. Roosevelt did not forget the Slovaks when he said:

This country is mindful of the vast contribution the Slovaks have made to the cause of furthering its development and growth—moral, cultural and material. The stout-hearted, clear-minded, freedom-loving and determined people of Slovakia, who, sensitive of the wrongs and deprivations experienced in their own country at the hands of invading forces, turned to America seeking a new home, now comprise with their children and grandchildren an asset in life, industry and culture of this great land that defies human power of appraisal.³

EARLY SLOVAK EMIGRATION

Even before the great "new emigration" which began around 1873, many Slovaks came to America as part of the "old emigration". Long before the exodus of the Slovak peasants and journeymen for America, hundreds of Slovaks left their homeland for life elsewhere. The Slovak emigration was not only for economic reasons, but also involved was the impelling desire to be part of the dream of a free world. This was also the dream of other ethnic groups from Central Europe.

It should be mentioned, however, that before the mass emigration to the United States after the 1870's, there were Slovaks who made their mark in this land of the free. One Slovak who helped America gain her independence from Great Britain was a soldier, Major John J. Polerecký, son of Count Andrew Polerecký of Polerieka, Turiec County, Slovakia.

In 1781, when the army of Cornwallis was defeated, its arms were surrendered to Polerecký at Yorktown, Va. The story of John Polerecký's participation in the American Revolution was unfolded by Dr. Joseph Cincik, a professor in Cleveland, Ohio, who is a distant relative of Major Polerecký. John Polerecký, promoted to a Major in the "French Hussars" by Louis XV, came to America with the French expeditionary army of Rochambeau to help the colonists overthrow British rule. It was during the siege of Yorktown, at the beginning of 1781, that Major Polerecký became acquainted with Col. Henry Dearborn (1751-1829) and Col. Benjamin Lincoln (1733-1810), who later became General in the American Army and then Secretary of War. On October 20, 1781, when Rochambeau sent Duke de Lauzun to Paris to report the victory to the French King, Polerecký accompanied him. Polerecký became a naturalized citizen by an act of the Massachusetts legislature and his papers were signed by Governor John Hancock, one of the signers of the American Declaration of Independence. Major Polerecký held various public offices from 1789 to 1828.⁴

Another Slovak who came to America in the earlier years was a doctor, Dr. Samuel Figuly, who fought in the Civil War in the side of the North and is especially noted for his many contributions to the scientific cultivation of tobacco in Virginia. As a plantation owner, he settled down to the cultivation of tobacco in the South, counseled from abroad by the Slovak botanist, Holuby. During the latter part of his life, Dr. Figuly took part in the unsuccessful expedition to the North Pole.⁵

There is a long list of Slovak names that appear on the list of volunteers during the Civil War, especially with the militia in Chicago known as the "Lincoln Riflemen of Slovak Origin". Such names as Filip, Krupinský, Fiala, and Kožlej are listed as some of the volunteers.⁶

The famed Civil War soldier who commanded the "Lincoln Riflemen of Slovak Origin" was a Slovak, Col. Gejza Mihalotzy, who was killed later at Chattanooga. The fort there was then referred to as "Fort Mihalotzy". Col. Mihalotzy recruited the company of riflemen in Illinois and received permission from the President to call his group the "Lincoln Riflemen of Slovak Origin".⁷

A Slovak, Andrew Jelík, was a tailor on a Dutch Ship which sailed to America in 1754-1755.⁸ Another Slovak who arrived in America during the 18th century was Count Maurice Beňovský who landed in Baltimore, Maryland in 1757. As an adventurer his career took him to Madagascar where he became King. In the year 1800, a Slovak dealer in oils surprised a Slovak Jesuit by making his confession in Slovak.⁹

The first Slovak settlement was made in Philadelphia, Pa. by wire-workers (drotári), in 1840 at 412-414 Front Street.¹⁰ A Martin Chalan landed in the United States in 1872, took out his first papers in 1876, and became an American citizen in 1879. He made the round-trip across the ocean twenty-six times.¹¹

THE GREAT SURGE OF SLOVAK EMIGRATION

In the wake of the great emigration to America, the movement seems to have begun in the eastern part of Slovakia, especially the counties of Zemplín, Šariš, and Spiš.¹² Between the years 1869-1890, the county of Spiš lost 14% of her youth between the ages of 20 to 25 years and 31% of the men between 26 and 30; Šariš lost 34% of those between 20 and 25 and 44% of the men between 26 and 30 years of age. The movement spread in Slovakia as their brethren became settled in America and the central and western counties took to emigration in the next decade.¹³

Between 1875-1914, great masses of Slovak intellectuals, peasants, tradesmen, and artists made up the hundreds

of thousands who crowded the cities of New York, Scranton, Hazleton, Cleveland, Wilkes-Barre, Chicago, Pittsburgh, Youngstown, Philadelphia, Detroit, Bridgeport, Newark and the eastern industrial portions of the United States.

These big cities and the little towns around them became centers of the new Slovak life in this country. There scarcely was an industry or trade, factory, mill, mine, or iron works where Slovak immigrants and their sons could not be found. Because of their brawn, they took on the most difficult jobs.¹⁴

New York ranked first as the port of entry to America; then in order followed Baltimore, Philadelphia, New Orleans, Boston, and Portland. From Slovakia, the immigrants generally moved by rail to German, Dutch, or Italian ports. Through the port of Hamburg, Germany passed the greatest number of emigrants. Their voyage took from 13 to 19 days. For my grandmother and grandfather, who came across the ocean in different ships and in different years, the voyage lasted thirteen days. All they brought with them was a suitcase made of straw.

It is difficult to give the exact figures on Slovak immigration before 1899 because the authorities counted the immigrants according to the country of last residence, and many of the Slovaks listed Hungary as their country of last residence. The total immigration to the United States numbered 9,555,673 in the period of 1899-1910, and of this number there were 337,527 Slovaks. The peak year was 1905 for the Slovaks when 52,368 of them were admitted to this new country of America.¹⁵

In the twelve years ending with June 30, 1910, Slovakia ranked eight among the nations who emigrated to the United States. The Slovaks percentage rate of emigration was the highest of any other group. In fact, the rate of emigration of Slovaks per 1,000 was 18.6; double that of any other race of people, except the Hebrews (18.3).¹⁶

SLOVAK PIONEERS

The truth remains that Slovakia, a nation with an area of 31,600 square miles—situated in the very heart of Central Europe; a small number of people of five million

in population and the oldest nation on the central Danube River, contributed much to the development of America.¹⁷

In 1963, United States Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, reflected pointedly about the Slovaks when he spoke in Youngstown, Ohio:

The United States would be a poorer nation today, economically, intellectually, culturally, and in every other way, if it were not for the over two million of our citizens who are of Slovak birth or ancestry.^{17a}

The passing of some eighty years and the contributions of Slovaks to this country prompted Attorney General Kennedy to make the above conclusion.

The immigrant, no matter where he was situated in the United States, had two seemingly opposing drives that moved him. One was toward becoming an American with which came the social acceptance all immigrants wanted from those who came to this country before them. The other was to preserve the culture, language, and faith of their Slovak past. Strange as it may seem, the two aims did not clash, instead, the two meshed and contributed largely to the dedication and labors of the Slovak pioneers in the new land. Living in a vastly different environment, they were able to fashion a completely new life.¹⁸

Thou, O Columbia, hast rent their chains,
And lifted them to manhood, heaven, God!¹⁹

On United States soil, the Slovaks developed a very living and dynamic organized activity; chiefly in journalism, fraternalism, education, music, drama, and religion.²⁰

Among the first was Julius Wolf (1859-1930) and John Slovenský (1856-1900) who, shortly after arriving in America in 1879, founded in Pittsburgh, Pa., the first Slovak periodical, the BULLETIN (1885), which was hectographed. It was replaced a year later, on October 21, 1886, by the first Slovak newspaper published in America, the AMERIKÁNSKO-SLOVENSKÉ NOVINY (The American-Slovak News), through which Wolf and Slovenský set about encouraging the twofold development of Slovaks in America. Intergration and yet preservation were the ideas of Slovenský and Wolf, both former teachers in Spiš County, held out as maxims to the new immigrant.²¹

The second Slovak newspaper in the United States, called NOVÁ VLASTĚ (The New Homeland), was founded in 1888 in Streator, Illinois. However, the town of Plymouth,

Pennsylvania is the cradle of SLOVÁK V AMERIKE (Slovak In America), which is actually the oldest continuously published Slovak newspaper in the world. The founder of this newspaper was Albert S. Ambrose in 1889.²² The largest and most influential American-Slovak newspaper in the world—even today—is the JEDNOTA (The Union)—circulation 40,000—the official organ of the First Catholic Slovak Union, which was founded by the Rev. Stephen Furdek in Cleveland, Ohio, May 12, 1891.²³

From the very beginning, the Slovaks set out to preserve their Christian heritage, and, because of economic and social need, they formed societies or lodges. Both established organizational life for the Slovaks and the task of implementing it fell on the shoulders of clergymen. It was the Slovak clergymen who came from the old country and responded to the call of the people and founded and helped to organize parishes, fraternal benefit societies, other organizations, and edited newspapers and periodicals.²⁴

It was natural that the Slovaks first wanted to have their own churches for that was their prized heritage.

In 862, there already stood in our Nitra, Slovakia, a Christian church for more than thirty years, the first among all western Slavs and the first church in Central Europe.²⁵

The Slovak Calvinists of Jessup, Pa. had a chapel there in 1888 and were first organized as a religious group in 1887 in Scranton, Pa.²⁶ The Slovak Lutherans were the first to organize on a religious basis in the United States. They established the Parish of the Holy Trinity in Streator, Illinois, October 5, 1884, and their first minister was Karol Horák. Other Lutheran parishes were organized in Free-land, Pa. and Nanticoke, Pa., in 1886, and Minneapolis, Minnesota, in 1888.²⁷ The Slovak Lutherans of Chicago organized the Evangelical Lutheran Church in 1893 and in 1894, the Rev. L. Boor became the pastor.²⁸

Today, the Protestant group represents about 12% of the Americans of Slovak descent. The Slovak Evangelical Lutheran Church has 52 churches and the Slovak Presbyterians have 15 churches. A very small number of Slovaks also belong to other denominations.²⁹

The first Catholic parish was founded in Hazleton,

Pa., in 1882, by the Slovak priest, Ignatius Jaskovic. His St. Joseph's Parish was actually formed in November 18, 1884. Prior to that he said Mass for his people in the "Irish Church", St. Gabriel's of Hazleton.³⁰

The Slovak Catholics had two problems: priests were needed who could speak the language and funds were needed for parish churches and schools. One of the first Slovak priests who came to the new world, and luckily for the future, was the Rev. Stephen Furdek, a native of the village of Trstená, Orava County, Slovakia. He arrived in Cleveland, Ohio in the early spring of 1882, and with Bishop Richard Gilmour's understanding and cooperation, he set the pattern in motion to solve the Slovak's problems. At the Bishop's request, Father Furdek went to Europe to seek out priests who would serve the spiritual needs of the Catholic Slovaks, Slovenes, and Croatsians.³¹ Besides Father Furdek, other Catholic clergymen—Rev. Paul Lisický, Dr. Alexander Dianiška, Rev. Anton Gracík, Rev. Joseph Murgaš, Msgr. Stephen Krasul'a, and others became dynamic leaders of the Slovaks in America.³²

Slovak Catholics number about 85% of the American Slovaks in this country.³³

A look at our Church dignitaries shows Bishop Joseph A. Durick, Bishop Andrew G. Grutka, Bishop Paul Hnilica, Bishop Michael Rusnák (the first Bishop in over 1,100 years for the Slovaks of the Byzantine Rite); Abbots Theodore Kojiš, Stanislav F. Gmuca, Jerome Koval; five with the rank of Protonotary Apostolic; over fifty prelates; and over 1,000 American-Slovak priests. There are seven friaries, one abbey, nine motherhouses for Sisters; nine institutions of higher learning; an orphanage; four old age homes; hundreds of elementary schools; and about 300 Slovak Catholic Parishes.³⁴

It was toward the maintaining of his Catholic faith that the Slovak Catholic immigrant devoted the greatest portion of his efforts. He did this by organizing parishes, schools, social clubs, and fraternal societies to keep the faith rooted in the young. He did it with whatever time and financial resources he had left after sending stipends back to relatives in the old country for payment of his passage to America or to help his next of kin to emigrate to this land of opportunity.³⁵

Mine disasters and other tragedies often took the lives of husbands and fathers, leaving the family destitute and

without money for the funeral. In answer to the need of sickness and funeral benefits, a large number of societies grew up in the industrial and mining towns. Father Furdek organized these individual societies into a Union (Jednota)—the First Catholic Slovak Union (1890). He also organized the First Catholic Slovak Ladies Union (1892), the Slovak Institute (Matica Slovenská) (1893), The National Fund, and the Fund to Preserve National Heritage.³⁶

The First Catholic Slovak Union, the largest Slovak fraternal benefit society in the world (105,000 members), founded in Cleveland, on September 4, 1890, is undoubtedly the greatest achievement of Father Furdek's fruitful life. He founded the organization's official organ, JEDNOTA (The Union), on May 12, 1891, and edited and published it and the KALENDÁR JEDNOTA (Annual Jednota) for over a decade.³⁷

To write about the contributions of the Jednota to American-Slovak life would require a manuscript that could fill a good size book. In fact, on the society's 75th Anniversary in 1965, its history was published in a 560-page book: *75 ROKOV PRVEJ KATOLÍCKEJ SLOVENSKEJ JEDNOTY* (75 Year History of the First Catholic Slovak Union), by Dr. Joseph Paučo.

This book portrays the early struggles of the Slovak immigrants, their traits of character, their involvement in events, both here and in their fatherland, their progress from life in simple settlements to flourishing parishes and to the founding of religious, educational, cultural and charitable institutions. It presents thumbnail sketches of institutions like the Catholic Slovak Federation of men and women, the newly established Institute of SS. Cyril and Methodius in Rome for the training of priests for Slovakia. It includes biographical sketches of notable persons in Slovak life, contemporary as well as past, persons whose names were household words in their day—Furdek, Jankola, Hrobák, Dianiška, Pavčo, Murgaš, Hušek, Kozák, Lach, Rovnianek—all active in American Slovak life.³⁸

The Immigrant Archives of the University of Minnesota is establishing a Slovak Room with materials and references from Jednota Press in Middletown, Pa. Other Slovak societies and institutions are making their resources available to the study.³⁹

Another Slovak pioneer, Peter P. Rovnianek, an outstanding organizer, brilliant writer and speaker, organized

the National Slovak Society "for all the Slovaks" without regard to creed (1890). He was born in Dolný Hričov, Trenčín County, Slovakia.⁴⁰

In addition to the National Slovak Society, the First Catholic Slovak Union, and the First Catholic Slovak Ladies Union, other Slovak fraternal benefit societies were organized: the Živena Beneficial Society (1891), the Pennsylvania Slovak Catholic Union (1893), the Slovak Evangelical Union (1893), the Slovak Gymnastic Union (1896), the Pennsylvania Slovak Catholic Ladies Union (1898), the Slovak Catholic Sokol (1905), the Canadian Slovak League (1932). The total membership of the Slovak fraternal benefit societies in the United States and Canada today is at the 500,000 mark.⁴¹

The newspapers were the sounding boards of popular opinion as well as a unifying force among the Slovaks. Almanacs, such as the FIRST SLOVAK NATIONAL ALMANAC of the National Slovak Society (1893), and KALENDÁR JEDNOTA (Annual Jednota) (1896) of the First Catholic Slovak Union, provided the literary reading that most Slovaks did: short stories, political essays, reviews of important events, religious essays, articles on marriage, and articles pertaining to almost any subject useful to the Slovak readers. Almanacs by the Slovak writers reached the American-Slovak public and became so popular that twenty-nine were published at one time.⁴²

Slovakia was a land of song and dancing and any celebration of even slight importance in America had to be combined with singing, dancing, and shouting of the most vigorous sort.⁴³ The Slovaks have thousands of folk songs and the 'čardáš' dance is the universal favorite.⁴⁴ Slovak dramatic clubs were organized at the Slovak parishes and the plays served as the handmaid of religion and stirred the audiences. The best remembered plays are "St. Elizabeth", "St. Genevieve", and "Fabiola", by Fr. Matthew Jankola, a man who foresaw the needs of the Slovak immigrants and did much for them, especially in the field of education. Often enacted were

...entertaining skits portraying the Foibles of human nature, each with a wholesome lesson.⁴⁵

The Slovaks also organized political clubs, cultural societies, and literary circles, but these had to wait because the Slovaks were occupied with labor conflicts. The early

history of unions show the great part the Slovaks played in the labor movement.⁴⁶

The Slovaks made their contribution to agriculture in this country. Slovaktown, Arkansas, was a farm community near the town of Stuttgart, which was established by Slovak settlers from the "old country" who came there from the coal fields of Pennsylvania to produce dairy products and vegetables. Slovaktown was chartered in 1895, through the efforts of Peter V. Rovnianek, Francis Pucher, Julius Tatraj, Rev. Stephen Džubaj, Rev. Stephen Furdek, and Rev. Václav Panuška.⁴⁷

The first Slovak Catholic parochial school in America was established in 1889 in Streator, Illinois, by the Rev. Ervin E. Gelhoff.⁴⁸ Today there are over 200 parochial schools, several high schools, also: St. Andrew's Abbey of the Slovak Benedictines, Cleveland, Ohio; the Slovak Franciscan Fathers of Uniontown, Pa., Pittsburgh, Pa., Valparaiso, Ind., Columbiana, Ohio, and Easton, Pa.; the Order of Sisters of SS. Cyril and Methodius, Danville, Pa.; the Slovak Dominican Sisters, Oxford, Mich.; the Slovak Vincentian Sisters, Perrysville, Pa., Bedford, Ohio; the Slovak Franciscan Sisters of Bellevue, Pa., Lacon, Ill., and Bethlehem, Pa.; and the Slovak Benedictine Sisters, Tinley Park, Ill.⁴⁹ Their contribution to the education and the life of the Slovak immigrants should be regarded with deep appreciation for the achievements and accomplishments for the Slovaks in America. They have fulfilled their mission and lived up to their motto "For God and Country" (*Za Boha a národ*).⁵⁰

There remains a whole list of Slovak pioneers, and, with those already mentioned in some detail, a whole volume can be written on each with ease. Perhaps the most fertile, imaginative mind among the Slovaks who came to this country belonged to Father Joseph Murgaš. A man of many talents, a painter, and yet having literary skill, Father Murgaš made outstanding contributions in the field of electronics. Working even before Marconi had perfected his wireless, Murgaš pioneered in telegraphic communication. He perfected a method to transit messages to moving railroad trains and secured a series of patents for his invention which he called the "Tone System". With his financial resources exhausted, Fr. Murgaš invited

Marconi and the famous Professor Fessenden of the University of Pittsburgh to assess his work. What followed is not too clear, but shortly the "Sonorous System" appeared on the commercial market that infringed upon Murgaš' patents. The "System" was sold in Europe beyond the reach of U. S. patent courts.

Father Murgaš held twelve patents, all instrumental in making wireless communications between railroad trains possible. In Slovakia, a new radio station was named after him and the Slovak Republic issued a postage stamp in his memory. In United States during World War II, a Liberty Ship was named in his honor. Father Murgaš is also the founder of the Slovak Catholic Federation of America, a Slovak Catholic Action organization which came into existence on February 22, 1911, in Wilkes-Barre, Pa.⁵¹

Just as the Slovak Catholic Federation of America was founded to promote Catholic Action, so on May 26, 1907, Father Furdek presided over 7,000 Slovaks in Cleveland, Ohio, representing all the Slovak societies and newspapers and clergy and laity of various religious and political convictions, to found the Slovak League of America. The purpose of the League was to unite all Americans of Slovak descent in the fight of the Slovak nation abroad.⁵² The activities of the League and the Federation are a significant chapter in the life of the Slovak immigrants and they still function today with effectiveness. The League promotes Slovak culture and maintains the identity of the Slovak, and the Federation continues to promote Catholic Action.

Another Slovak immigrant who "labored indefatigably" to preserve the Catholic faith among the people of his nationality was the Rev. Matthew Jankola. He not only took care of and built parishes in Hazleton, Pa., Pittston, Pa., and Bridgeport, Conn., but served as president of the First Catholic Slovak Union; was editor of JEDNOTA (The Union); contributed to Slovak periodicals; and was responsible, after tremendous effort, of establishing a teaching community of Slovak Sisters of SS. Cyril and Methodius for the perpetuation of Catholic education among the Slovak people of America.⁵³ It has been said that what Fr.

Furdek was to the national life of the Slovak immigrants, Father Jankola was to their religious life.⁵⁴

CONCLUSION

The Slovak pioneer has built the foundation and started the process of development in the religious field, in education, in fraternalism, in journalism, in literature, and in culture. He did this in a strange environment, living in big cities and small towns, with a frightening language barrier, but he enjoyed and breathed freedom. He was free to think, work, write, and worship as he wished. He grasped every opportunity to grow and prosper in this free land, and he did all this to good advantage, thereby reaping all the precious things necessary and peculiar to him in the new world. And, the Slovak pioneer did this within one generation!⁵⁵

The Slovak with his sons and their sons, the new generations, advanced rapidly and their activity in the business world, political life, sports, and social life became more pronounced.

But it was the hundreds of thousands of Slovak workers—the peasants representing practically every village in Slovakia—who gave concrete meaning to the dream which brought them here.⁵⁶

The immigrants and those of Slovak descent took on another task when they resolved in the spirit of America that their homeland, Slovakia, would some day be free and independent of alien rule. They worked for and were determined to see in their time,

... that Slovakia some day would be master of its own household, free to work out its own destiny as on equal among the civilized nations of the earth.⁵⁷

Along with Father Furdek, countless others played a large role in this work. Among them were Michael Bosák, Sr., whose warm story follows the traditionally American "rags to riches" theme. He was the wealthiest American of Slovak descent in the entire country.⁵⁸ Then there was Joseph Hušek, who spent thirty-seven years as the editor of the JEDNOTA (The Union), the most widely read American-Slovak newspaper in the United States. Both these men were instrumental in getting Slovakia's problems before their fellow Americans.⁵⁹

There were also many significant contributions by the American Slovaks in all the wars. Not only did the youth serve with distinction in the armed forces, but the Slovak leaders at home conducted huge War Bond drives. In World War II, headed by the Rev. John J. Lach of Whiting, Indiana, the Committee sold over \$53 million in bonds. In recognition of this achievement, the Treasury Department credited the Slovak League with five bombers and named four "Liberty Ships" after famous Slovaks: "The Stephen Furdek", "The Mathias Kocak", "The General Milan R. Štefánik", and "The Joseph Murgas".⁶⁰

In 1964, the Slovaks of America donated over one-half million dollars to build the Slovak Institute of SS. Cyril and Methodius in Rome, where young men are being trained to be priests so that one day they can serve Slovakia when it is free of communism. Another great contribution was the Chapel of Our Mother of Sorrows, a gift of the First Catholic Slovak Union which was dedicated on September 5, 1965 in the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception, Washington, D. C. This occasion was also the Diamond Jubilee of the Jednota and over 15,000 American-Slovaks gathered in the nation's capital to hear Senator Frank Lausche of Ohio laud the achievements of the American Slovaks.⁶¹

The Slovaks contributed a large quota of stars and stalwarts in the field of sports and athletics in American colleges and on the professional teams.⁶² The names on the teams' rosters today are witness to this fact, but names like: Pafko, Lapchik, Musial, Bucha, Bednarik, Valo, Kralik and Mucha are familiar to most sports-minded Americans.

Yes, indeed, the Slovaks were a part of the "great emigration and:

... they have definitely and permanently united their destiny with the destiny of America. It was men like Furdek, Murgaš, Jankola, Rovnianek, and others who came after them that aided and guided their fellow Slovaks. They interpreted America to the Slovaks and likewise interpreted the psychology and ideals of the Slovaks to their American neighbors. Through their leadership and guidance the Slovaks of America were enabled to make their contribution to the material, cultural, and spiritual progress of their adopted land.⁶³

The Slovak was similar in many ways to other im-

migrants in the assimilation process, but unlike the other ethnic groups, he was destined to play a role in the future of his homeland.⁶⁴

In the last 25 years, over 15,000 Slovaks fled from their homeland to escape the vengeance of the communists and over 3,000 of these were Slovak intellectuals. Among the refugees from this tyranny are some of the best known Slovak novelists, journalists, poets, and writers.

These writers preserved their literary creativeness and formed the Association of Slovak Writers and Artists and opened avenue to the greatest surge of literary efforts about Slovaks on several continents. More books have been published and distributed about the Slovaks on this continent in the last ten years than in all the previous years put together.⁶⁵

There is no question that these writers and historians will echo the deeds of their countrymen for posterity. What is still needed, however, are writers about the Slovaks in the English language.

The Most Reverend Joseph A. Durick, D.D., Bishop, Diocese of Nashville, Tenn., speaking in 1965 in Washington, D. C., summed it all up when in tribute to the Slovaks he said:

The triumph of the Slovaks has come about because of constant effort, faithful service, zeal for God's house and the willingness always to sacrifice. The Slovaks great triumph over innumerable odds has made their contribution to Church and Country a considerable one. By their loyalty to the Faith and subscription to the great fundamental freedoms which they have exemplified in the market place and in the home, they have helped to build the great city of God and the city of man in our beloved Country.⁶⁶

FOOTNOTES

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- 2a) *Ibid.*, p. 177.
- 3) Peter P. Yurchak, Esq., *THE SLOVAKS* (Scranton, Pa., 1946), p. 178.
- 4) Gilbert L. Oddo, *SLOVAKIA AND ITS PEOPLE* (New York, N. Y., 1960), pp. 331-332.
- 5) Peter P. Yurchak, Esq., *THE SLOVAKS* (Scranton, Pa., 1946), p. 168.
- 6) John Porubský, "Lincoln And The Slovaks", *KALENDAR JEDNOTA*, XLVII (1944), 129.

- 7) Gilbert L. Oddo, Ph.D., *SLOVAKIA AND ITS PEOPLE* (New York, N. Y., 1960), p. 332.
- 8) Konštantín Čulen, *DEJINY SLOVAKOV V AMERIKE* (History of the Slovaks In America) (Slovakia, 1942), I, 24-25.
- 9) Ibid., p. 26-27.
- 10) Ibid., p. 28.
- 11) Ibid., p. 29.
- 12) Emily Greene Balch, Ph.D., *OUR SLAVIC FELLOW CITIZENS* (New York, N. Y., 1910), p. 99.
- 13) James J. Zatko, Ph.D., "Early Beginnings of Slovaks in America", *SLOVAKIA*, XV (1965), 15.
- 14) Gilbert L. Oddo, Ph.D., *SLOVAKIA AND ITS PEOPLE* (New York, N. Y., 1960), p. 333.
- 15) Emily Greene Balch, Ph.D., *OUR SLAVIC CITIZENS* (New York, N. Y., 1910), p. 103.
- 16) James J. Zatko, Ph.D., "Early Beginnings of Slovaks in America", *SLOVAKIA*, XV (1965), 16.
- 17) Joseph M. Kirschbaum, LL.D., Ph.D., *SLOVAKIA: NATION AT THE CROSSROADS OF CENTRAL EUROPE* (New York, N. Y., 1960), p. 15.
- 17a) Joseph N. Misany, Esq., "Father Andrew Hlinka", *SLOVAKIA*, XV (1965), p. 76.
- 18) Gilbert L. Oddo, Ph.D., *SLOVAKIA AND ITS PEOPLE* (New York, N. Y., 1960), p. 333.
- 19) Peter P. Yurchak, Esq., *THE SLOVAKS* (Scranton, Pa., 1946), p. 157.
- 20) Bonaventure S. Buc, Ph.D., *SLOVAK NATIONALISM: ITS ORIGINS, CONFLICTS AND OBJECTIVES* (Middletown, Pa., 1957), p. 60.
- 21) Oddo, op. cit., p. 334.
- 22) William Kona, M.A., "The Oldest Slovak Newspaper in the U.S.A.", *SLOVAKIA*, XV (1965), pp. 38-39.
- 23) Joseph Paučo, Ph.D., *75 ROKOV PRVEJ KATOLÍCKEJ SLOVEN-SKEJ JEDNOTY* (75 Year History of the First Catholic Slovak Union) (Middletown, Pa., 1965), pp. 13-14.
- 24) Gilbert Oddo, Ph.D., *SLOVAKIA AND ITS PEOPLE* (New York, N. Y., 1960), p. 169.
- 25) Joseph Škultéty, *SKETCHES FROM SLOVAK HISTORY* (Middletown, Pa., 1930), p. 10.
- 26) Konštantín Čulen, *DEJINY SLOVAKOV V AMERIKE* (History of the Slovaks in America) (Slovakia, 1942), I, 114-115.
- 28) James J. Zatko, Ph.D., "Early Beginnings of Slovaks in America", *SLOVAKIA*, XV (1965), 28.
- 29) Gilbert L. Oddo, Ph.D., *SLOVAKIA AND ITS PEOPLE* (New York, N. Y., 1960), p. 338.

- 30) "St. Joseph's Hazleton: Slovak Church Rebuilt", *JEDNOTA* (The Union), LXXV (1966), p. 12.
- 31) Gilbert L. Oddo, Ph.D., *SLOVAKIA AND ITS PEOPLE* (New York, N. Y., 1960), p. 334.
- 32) Peter P. Yurchak, Esq., *THE SLOVAKS* (Scranton, Pa., 1946), p. 169.
- 33) Oddo, op. cit., p. 337.
- 34) Joseph C. Krajša, "Slovaks Have Arrived", *SLOVAKIA*, XV (1965), p. 65.
- 35) Gilbert L. Oddo, Ph.D., *SLOVAKIA AND ITS PEOPLE* (New York, N. Y., 1960), p. 336.
- 36) Ibid., p. 335.
- 37) Ibid., p. 334.
- 38) Mother M. Emerentia, SS.C.M., "Book Reviews", *SLOVAKIA*, XV, (1965), pp. 152-155.
- 39) Joseph C. Krajša, "Jednota Talk", *JEDNOTA* (The Union), LXXV, (1966), p. 5.
- 40) Dr. Peter Hletko, "The Founder of Our Society", *ALMANAC FOR THE YEAR 1966*, LXXIV (1966), 3.
- 41) Gilbert L. Oddo, Ph.D., *SLOVAKIA AND ITS PEOPLE* (New York, N. Y., 1960), p. 339.
- 42) James J. Žatko, Ph.D., "Early Beginnings of the Slovaks in America", *SLOVAKIA*, XV (1965), p. 25.
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- 48) Joseph C. Krajša, "Looking Back", *JEDNOTA* (The Union), LXXV (1966), p. 5.
- 49) Philip A. Hrobak, *SLOVAK CATHOLIC PARISHES AND INSTITUTIONS* (Middletown, Pa., 1955), p. 23.
- 50) Ibid., p. 27.
- 51) Canon Joseph Altany, LL.D., "Joseph Murgaš: Father of Wireless", *DOBRY PASTIER* (Good Shepherd), XXXVII (1964), p. 3.
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- 55) Gilbert L. Oddo, Ph.D., *SLOVAKIA AND ITS PEOPLE* (New York, N. Y., 1960), p. 331.
- 56) Peter P. Yurchak, Esq., *THE SLOVAKS* (Scranton, Pa., 1946), p. 157.
- 57) Gilbert L. Oddo, Ph.D., *SLOVAKIA AND ITS PEOPLE* (New York, N. Y., 1960), p. 344.
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- 61) Joseph C. Krajša, "Slovaks Have Arrived", *SLOVAKIA*, XV (1965), pp. 66, 67.
- 62) Peter P. Yurchak, Esq., *THE SLOVAKS* (Scranton, Pa., 1946), p. 176.
- 63) Peter P. Yurchak, Esq., *THE SLOVAKS* (Scranton, Pa., 1946), p. 177.
- 64) Gilbert L. Oddo, Ph.D., *SLOVAKIA AND ITS PEOPLE* (New York, N. Y.), p. 346.
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BRATISLAVA: Ancient Slovak Cultural Center

(A translation from the Slovak of a portion of Ľudo Zúbek's *Moja Bratislava* (My Bratislava), published by Mladé Letá Publishing House, Bratislava, 1965)

1467 ACADEMIA ISTROPOLITANA

Bratislava's city chamberlain, who had charge of the so-called chamberlain book (the book of the city's receipts and expenditures) recorded on the 20th of July, 1467, that on that day the mayor and the councilmen hosted the professors who had arrived for the opening of the new school of higher learning. They gave them fried chicken, rolls, wine and fruit. Bratislava's mayor and councilmen were hospitable people, and they honored each distinguished guest with a more modest or a more expensive refreshment according to the guest's station in life. The reception, which is mentioned in the book of records, was not the poorest. From this one may conclude that the affair concerned distinguished guests.

The event, with which the arrival of the professors bore upon, was certainly significant. In Bratislava they opened a university known as Academia Istropolitana. The reception of the professors was the culmination of lengthy preparatory work which began two years before in 1465. At that time the Hungarian king, Matej Korvín, sent to Rome a mission of some renown in order to obtain from the Pope an agreement for the establishment of an institution of higher learning in Bratislava. In the fifteenth century there already existed a number of well-known universities in Europe: Salerno, Bologna, Paris, Prague, Cracow, Vienna, etc. The universities had merit for the reason, that concurrently with their fame there was also spread the glory of the city in which the institution was located. Each university depended on the fact that it should have well-known professors because its scholarly renown was the best recommendation for higher learning. Such universities had students also from distant countries. The

young men of Hungary who wished to attain a higher education could only decide upon a foreign university because in Hungary there were none. They had no language difficulties, since in all the schools teaching was carried on in Latin.

It is therefore natural that the king, who revered the arts and surrounded himself at his court in Budín with outstanding humanists, desired that there should be a university in his country. He could have established it himself, but in such a case the degrees granted there would have value only in Hungary. In order for it to have international academic recognition, some kind of higher authority had to permit the establishment of the university. Such an authority was the German emperor (at that time Fridrich III) or the Pope.

Since Matej's relations with Fridrich could not be called friendly, the king turned to the Pope. Under the leadership of the learned bishop Ján Čezmický, better known by the name Ján Pannonius, and the commander-in-chief Ján Rozgoň, a magnificent escort numbering 300 people left on February 20, 1465 from Budín on a march to Rome. In order to make the success of the mission more certain, they carried with them for the Pope a humble "St. Peter's pence": 20,000 gold pieces. Pope Paul II settled Matej's request favorably, but in the charter with which he permitted the establishment of the Academia, he stated a condition that the new school should be set up according to the example of Bologna University. From this condition it would logically result that for Academia Istropolitana the Bologna school should be the model in all matters, but the leaders of the university used Bologna as an example only for its teaching programs.

The management of the Academia had a different tenor. At Bologna the students had the greatest of power. They chose their professors and had control over their lectures. In like manner they themselves elected the rector, and he was chosen from their midst. The rector had advisors at hand with whom he exercised authority not only over the students, but also over professors. Without consent of students and presence of their representatives a professor could not call in a student and admonish or punish him.

Nowhere else on earth did scholars have such rights as at Bologna.

At Academia Istropolitana all authority was in the hands of the chancellor, who was appointed by the king. The chancellor hired and fired professors, granted the academic degrees, and carried out his judicial and disciplinary authority over the professors and students.

Academia Istropolitana was formally opened July 20, 1467, but actual teaching there did not begin until the end of September. The university obtained the building as a gift from the king and Chancellor Vitez. It was a building on Ventúrska Street, of which half was deeded over from a dead title to the king's possession and the other half Vitez bought for the university for 600 gold pieces. The city had the building remodeled in such a way that there would be lecture halls, apartments for professors and living quarters for the students. Commencement exercises were held in a nearby cathedral.

The first chancellor of Academia Istropolitana was the above mentioned Ján Vitez, the archbishop of Ostrihom and the king's chancellor. He was not only a statesman of distinction, but also a humanistic writer of the first rank. He was born in the year 1408 in Zredna, but his forefathers came from Ostrihom. Along with his career as a priest (first he was bishop of Veľký Varadín, then archbishop of Ostrihom) he very quickly attained a leading position at the king's court: he became chancellor of the king Matej Korvín. At his residence in the Ostrihom palace, which he remodeled and artistically decorated at great cost, he surrounded himself with humanistic writers and scholars of the highest rank. They came to Ostrihom from almost all parts of Europe: from Czechia, Germany, Poland, France, Italy, and Greece.

Vitez was a true child of his times. On the one hand, under the influence of the work of his contemporaries, he very quickly saw the reasons for unhealthy events in the country and openly warned of them. In the introduction to his book of letters (his collection of letters written in Latin) he wrote: "Truly I have already saturated myself with viewing so much misery, but in order that I secure a safer destiny, I shall be silent." This is the other side

of his personality: behave as others behave. He dressed as a worldly magnate in clothes of embroidered gold, wore a gold chain around his neck and a wreath embeded with precious stones on his head. His personal guard consisted of 300 knights. He eagerly supported the building of new palaces and churches and put forth a great amount of money for the procurement of books, especially beautifully decorated codices. His library was world-famous. He had in it the works of all the important ancient Greek and Roman authors and prominent church fathers.

Although Johannes Guttenberg was a contemporary of Vitez, the printing of books was then not yet known in Hungary. All books were transcribed by writers and illustrated by artists. Vitez's love of beautiful manuscripts financially cost him very heavily. Let us not be surprised that the chancellor wanted to obtain some books at less cost. He simply borrowed them—and didn't return them. Most frequently he would borrow them from his nephew, bishop Ján Čezmický. When the bishop's reminders to the great chancellor reminded without result—but on the contrary, Vitez requested that his nephew lend him more codices—Pannonius answered with an ironic letter:

You write that I should send you books. Well, did I not already send you enough? I have only Greek books left: you have taken away all the Latin ones. Praise God that you do not know Greek, otherwise you would not leave me even those. If you would learn Greek, I would immediately acquire a knowledge of the Hebrew language and I would establish a library of Hebrew codices. I ask, how it is possible, that in the procurement of books, you are so dissatisfied. Do you possibly think that in this you are not committing a sinful act? In my opinion it does not matter on what things our passions concentrate. If in fact you truly desire books so much, do not take them from others who have less of them than you.

The extravagant, rich, diplomatic and literary event-filled life of the chancellor took a sudden sharp turn when Vitez embroiled himself in a conspiracy against the king Matej. The king had him imprisoned. Shortly after (1467) the former chancellor died.

At the time of the establishment of Academia Istropolitana, Vitez was at the peak of his power. His greatest responsibility in connection with the new school was to get famous professors for it. He was successful in that,

because already in the first year of the existence of the academy we meet here with the name of the outstanding astronomer Johann Müller, known in the scientific world as Regiomontanus. Vitez invited him to Bratislava from Vienna, where he was a professor of the university located there. Here are at least some of the most well-known data from his life: He was born in the year 1436 in Königsberg (from this he derived the Latinized form of his scientific name Regiomontanus). Upon completion of schooling, he taught mathematics at Vienna University, then in 1462 he left with the escort of Cardinal Bessarion to Italy in order to complete his study of Greek. The humanistic and renaissance learned men studied Greek a great deal, which previously the educated had neglected. He wanted to publish a revised translation of the works of the great ancient astronomer Ptolemy.

Upon his return from Italy he lived in Vienna and in Ostrihom at the court of Ján Vitez. From there he left to become a professor at Bratislava. But he did not remain long. Maybe he lacked a properly equipped observatory; perhaps he did not wish to compose horoscopes which the king, the aristocracy and rich townsfolk requested of him. In 1471 he moved to Nürnberg where with the financial aid of the wealthy townsman Walther he had constructed astronomical instruments and set up his own printery at which his scientific works were printed. In 1474 Pope Sixtus IV invited him to Rome in order to be the scientific advisor on calendar reform. Here he died in 1476.

His most famous astronomical work was a calculation of the paths of heavenly bodies published under the title *Tabulae Directionum*. Still 200 years after Regiomontanus' death these tables were used as an important astronomical aid.

The authorities of Bratislava hired other professors in Poland, Italy and France. From Cracow University came Professor Martin Ilkus, who in addition to philosophy also occupied himself with astronomy. Many of his astronomical instruments and handwritings of his scientific works could still be found in Cracow. There are horoscopes which Magister Martin—this is the manner in which he was

referred to at the king's court—made for King Matej and members of his family. All of the aristocrats and noblemen of that time gave priority to astrology over astronomy. Ilkus must certainly have found in Regiomontanus a good co-worker because he was a scientific personality. Historians of the new era refer to Regiomontanus as a spiritual predecessor of Christopher Columbus.

It seems that the fate of Academia Istropolitana was very closely tied to the fate of its chancellor Vitez. When Vitez fell into disfavor and lost his position with the university, the Academia began to decline. Vice-chancellor Schomberg did not succeed in obtaining professors of such standing as Regiomontanus. Also the number of students began to dwindle. The king had planned the construction of a new building for students in the rear of the courtyard or next to the main building. But the addition was not necessary. From foreign countries very few applicants inquired and many students from Hungary gave preference henceforth to Vienna and Cracow. And thus Academia Istropolitana ceased to exist immediately upon the death of Matej Korvín (1490).

STUDENTS AND PROFESSORS

Let us return to our student and follow him to the Gmaitlovský house on Ventúrska Street. Academia Istropolitana is located in a building in the courtyard. The entire court is filled with building materials because King Matej has great plans for the university. He wants to build a rear wing and remodel the facade so that afterward the building would form an enclosed unit. At present there are in the completed part only lecture halls, professors' apartments, and the students' dormitory section.

All students however do not live in the dormitory. The home-towners, naturally, live with their parents and those from out of town who have relatives or friends in Bratislava would rather live with them. It is more convenient because the house rules of the dormitory are very strict. It is especially bad in winter. There is heat only in the common study where, in the afternoon and evening hours under the supervision of the dormitory's headmaster, the students must repeat the subject-matter on

which the professors lectured in the forenoon. There is no heat in rooms where students sleep . . . Let the students accustom themselves!

The school years begins on the tenth of October with a high mass in the cathedral. The students had to arrive in Bratislava even before this. The first of their concerns was to announce themselves at the rector's, identify themselves with a certificate of completion of middle school, and register with one of four faculties. By registration with the rector the student formally became a member of a great university society, but he became a true student only after the Beaniae. A first year student was titled a beanus (allegedly because of the fact that he is still stupid or a sheep which, with the exception of bleating, knows nothing else; a beanus knows only to say *bé*). The initiation rites to which every beanus had to submit was called the Beaniae.

The comic ceremony had only one purpose: to torment the beani in the worst way. For example, they smeared their faces with some kind of black grease and then they shaved them with a large wooden razor, or they placed horns on their heads and ordered them to perform all kinds of difficult and amusing tasks. Upon completion of the production the beani had to host their professors and older colleagues.

At the majority of the universities the professors themselves voted for the rector, the vice-rector and the deans. It was not so in Bratislava. Academia Istropolitana did not have a rector, but a chancellor appointed by the king. His term of office was not limited by time; while a rector was elected by professors for a term of one year, the chancellor was in fact a royal office-holder commissioned with the management of the university. He alone chose his representative, the vicechancellor.

The main course of study at the Academia was theology; the weakest by attendance was in medicine. At Academia Istropolitana we know only of the master Peter who lectured here on medicine. As we speak of lecturing, this is not a completely precise description. The professor did not lecture, but read. He read the works of recognized

scientific authorities and explained them. He did not add anything of his own.

Students sat on simple wooden benches, on their knees were placed planks, and on those some kind of parchment or paper on which they made notes with a goose quill dipped in ink. They had a little bottle of ink tied with a string around the waist. There were no textbooks and for that reason the head-master, who had supervision over them, went over the lectured material with the students in the dormitory or study room.

Because the age of those in attendance was not prescribed, 15 year old boys and 30-40 years old men sat together in the classroom. After two years of study, the student attained the academic degree of the first step: the bachelor's. The next higher step was the *licenciato* and the highest was titled master. Degrees were granted ceremonially after rigorous examinations of which the main part was the disputation; we could compare it to today's defense of the dissertation. It is true, disputation themes of those times were substantially different. There was a preponderance of theological and philosophical topics. Less were concerned with the natural sciences. In the archives of Prague's Karlova University there is preserved from the sixteenth century a report on the disputation of Master Ondřej Mitisko. He debated the subject of earthquakes. According to him the cause of earthquakes was warm and dry steam or wind enclosed in the bowels of the earth and searching for an escape. When the wind does not find that escape because of the firmness of those parts of the earth, it shakes those parts. The title of another disputation was again thus: "Is it proper that a Christian should look on a meteor as holding in itself a sign of the future?"

It is too bad that there were not preserved the titles of the bachelor and master disputations of *Academia Istropolitana*. It would certainly be interesting reading.

The life of students was gay, but we would be mistaken if we were to assume that equality reigned among them. A folk proverb says that a lord is in Hell also a lord. Therefore it is understandable that the university students of nobility wanted to be lords also at *Academia Istro-*

politana. It is interesting that among the students there were also boys from the poor serf families. Nearly all studied theology. The landowners prevented their subjects to send their sons to school. They themselves underrated education, and even at the time of King Matej many of the most prominent of the rich could not write and did not allow their subjects to study. They permitted an exception only with the study of theology. From the goodness-of-heart of his lord even a subject could become a priest. In order that these poor scholars could complete their studies in some way, they became a famulus to the rich students. Famulus is actually only a Latin name for the word servant. Such a poor student then took care of the bed, shoes and clothing of his rich lord colleague. For this he received from him a regular monthly payment.

Many students did not remain in Bratislava until the attainment of the master's degree. As a rule they left for some foreign university as soon as they reached the bachelor's.

With its relatively short existence, Academia Istropolitana could claim only a few distinguished graduates. (There is among them the notorious Štefan Verböczy, the author of the juridicial regulations called Tripartitum which, after the ill fated Doža uprising in 1514, made the position of the Hungarian serfs substantially worse.)

THE FORMER EVANGELICAL LYCEUM

It seems almost unbelievable that a handful of students could imprint with its activities the mark of the times upon the city. This handful of young people entered into our national and literary history under the name of Štúr's Followers. Their activities in Bratislava were inseparably connected with the activities of Ľudovít Štúr and with the former evangelical lyceum building on Konventná Street. Nearly all of his followers studied at this school. A sandstone tablet on the wall of the lyceum building calls their names to mind. It is a long list of names, well-known and lesser known people, who in some way registered themselves into our cultural history. Behold at least a few of the most famous: Ľudovít Štúr, J. M. Hurban, M. M. Hodža, Samo Chalupka, Karol Kuzmány,

Janko Matúška, A. H. Škultéty, Ján Francisci, Andrej Sládkovič . . .

This generation of young men burning with a national spirit came to Bratislava as a second wave. The first were the students of the Catholic general seminary, which Maria Teresia organized at the citadel. Anton Bernolák, Juraj Fándli and others had studied at this seminary. In their company it is also necessary to include the canon of Bratislava Jozef Ignác Bajza, author of the first Slovak novel *René*, a young man of events and experiences.

In the thirties (1829) Ľudovít Štúr came to Bratislava. With his arrival the still waters of the cultural life of Slovak students in Bratislava began to move. The so-called Society of Czecho-Slovak Language and Literature, which before this lived very poorly, began to develop under Štúr's leadership a very intensive activity. The Society had over 100 members who regularly met at common meetings. Here they always heard some kind of lecture or recitation of poems, and finally an appointed judge evaluated the literary work of the members of the Society.

Because at that time Moravians, Czechs, Croatians and Serbians also studied at Bratislava's lyceum, the Society had a Slavonic character not only in the nationalities of its members, but also in the tenor of its activities. But the obligations of the members of the Society did not end at vacation time. On the contrary, Štúr assigned his students tasks during vacation: they traveled in Slovakia, Moravia and Czechia, established personal contacts and cultural acquaintances, collected folk-songs and folk-tales, and searched for new students for the lyceum.

In Bratislava, the activities of the Society were not limited only to the lyceum hall meetings where the students were under the control of nationally biased professors. Štúr took his followers to places of former Slavonic majesty and glory: the Bratislava citadel, Kamzík mountain, and the more distant surroundings of Bratislava.

Most memorable was the excursion to Devín on April 24 in 1836. It was an important national manifestation, which left its impression on the participants the rest of their lives. Such undertakings also had a political meaning and their influence grew in all of Slovakia.

Indeed Štúr's ideals, which the students adopted in Bratislava, were taken with them after completion of studies to their home districts. And most of all, Štúr began to spread his views with the printed word. Beginning with the year 1845, there appeared the most important Slovak newspaper of prerevolutionary times, the *Slovak National News* with its supplement, the *Tatra Eagle*. And in two years Štúr became a representative with the Bratislava parliament. We may say that all this grew from a seed which the Bratislava evangelical lyceum planted in the students.

Today's building is from the year 1854, thus from post-Štúr times. The building is a little further from town than the original and today houses the library of the Slovak Academy of Sciences in which Štúr and his friends studied.

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SLOVAKIA is published annually by the Slovak League of America, a cultural and civic federation of Americans of Slovak descent.

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The 15th Anniversary of the Untimely Death of Prof. Francis Hrušovský

J. M. Kirschbaum, Ph.D.

On September 9, 1971, it will be 15 years since the Slovak cultural and political life in the free world lost one of its best representatives, Prof. Francis Hrušovský. Even though he dedicated his life in Slovakia primarily to education and history, after leaving Slovakia in 1945, he became one of the most important political leaders among Slovaks in the free world. A very close personal and political friend of Karol Sidor who represented Slovakia during the War in the Vatican, Hrušovský looked for contacts with Sidor a few months after leaving his native country and summoned him to organize political action of all Slovak exiles against the Communist and Czech rule in Slovakia. The message signed by several prominent Slovak politicians and intellectuals was sent first to me in Switzerland with the request to use the diplomatic channels of the Vatican to forward it to Minister Sidor.

It was, therefore, only natural that later Hrušovský became one of the closest co-operators of Karol Sidor when in 1948 we founded in the Vatican City the Slovak National Council Abroad. Being one of the first Slovak exiles admitted to the United States, Hrušovský deserves recognition that the Slovak National Council Abroad was accepted by the main American Slovak organizations as the only representative of the Slovak exile movement for regaining freedom and independence. A man of outstanding qualities and warm personality, he gained friends very soon among all the Slovak leaders in the United States and used his time and energy to help, on the one side, the Slovak refugees in Europe and, on the other side, he played an important role in Slovak political and cultural endeavors. He chose for his new home Cleveland, Ohio, one of the cities where the first important Slovak political document

was signed in the first World War and where the only Slovak religious Order, the Benedictine Fathers, had their headquarters and schools. Highly respected and liked by the Abbot of the Benedictine Fathers, Rt. Rev. T. Kojiš, Hrušovský became a professor again but, at the same time, he was working on several valuable historical works either on Slovakia ("This is Slovakia") or on the history of the religious Orders in the United States. He was also a co-founder of the Slovak Institute, of a Slovak newspaper in Cleveland, and whole-heartedly supported the activities of the Slovak National Council Abroad.

When in 1953 Karol Sidor suddenly died, Prof. Hrušovský took his place and became the leader of the Slovak exiles working for freedom, democracy and independence of their native country.

Unfortunately, he did not stay for a long time at the helm of this struggle. On September 9, 1956, he left the scene of the Slovak exile life.

It was the third tragic loss among Slovaks in exile and thousands of Slovaks living on this side of the Iron Curtain were stunned by the unexpected news announcing the sudden death of Dr. Francis Hrušovský. He was admired and deeply respected not only as the President of the Slovak National Council Abroad, but also as an outstanding patriot, eminent historian and educator, and a man of sterling moral calibre. Among prominent representatives of a Slovak generation to which it was given to see their cherished dream of Slovakia's independence and statehood fulfilled only to be ruthlessly destroyed within a few years, Dr. Hrušovský personified the best traditions and characteristics which distinguished Slovak intellectuals, mercilessly hounded to extermination by the Communists.

The loss of Dr. Hrušovský was very keenly felt both because of what he was per se and because of what he meant to the nation. Because of these reasons Slovaks abroad realized that no blow could have been more grievous in their ranks than the death of Dr. Hrušovský. It sorely afflicted all Slovak communities in the free world but

especially Slovak émigrés dedicated to the vindication of Slovakia's liberation from foreign rule.

It has been an unhappy lot of Slovaks in the free world to suffer three irreparable losses within the span of three consecutive years: the passing of Karol Sidor, diplomat, politician, and key leader of the Slovak exile movement, the political assassination of Matúš Černák, a diplomat and the most valuable force among Slovak exiles in Germany; and then the untimely death of Dr. Hrušovský, called in the prime of his career at the age of 53.

Only a year before, when Dr. Hrušovský accepted the chief executive responsibilities of the Slovak National Council Abroad, Slovaks abroad rejoiced in being under his capable leadership. We confidently fixed all our prospects on him as being the individual best qualified to effect a united effort of all Slovak exiled groups engaged in the struggle to attain Slovakia's liberation and independence. Mild-mannered and unassuming as he was, Dr. Hrušovský commanded the respect of Slovaks of both the old and new immigrants. His personal inclination and preference were not for the tensions and stratagems of a political career¹ but he did not decline wholehearted service to his nation in this difficult post when it was evident that the need of the hour required it of him.

The Cleveland weekly SLOVAK NEWS wrote of him: "In less than a decade in his adopted country he became a beloved figure in Slovak circles everywhere. Everyone who met him was impressed by his personality. Those who knew him learned to admire his scholarship, to respect his unwavering devotion to principles and to love him for his boundless charity. Seldom can one expect to meet a man of his moral stature, dignity, idealism and faith."

The primary interest of Dr. Hrušovský's life was teaching—as we mentioned above—specifically the teaching of history and the pursuit of historical research. His innate love of his people and his instinctive devotion to youth prompted him to choose education as his profession. He attained distinction in this field and it was as an educator and a historian that he entered the political arena. Here

he looked upon all his political functions and commitments as a service to his nation's highest interest and hence he worked with a sense of dedication to public duty.

Specializing as he did in medieval history, Dr. Hrušovský published several fully documented studies on Great Moravia, the first Slovak and Slav state on the Danube. He also prepared a Slovak history text for secondary schools which established a precedent in the Slovak publishing world. In its second edition this book was welcomed with such wide acclaim that it became a national best seller. Translated into German, the book was the first serious history book on Slovakia for scholars outside Slovakia.

In the early part of his exile, during his sojourn in Rome and in the United States, Dr. Hrušovský prepared a scholarly work on the earliest Slovak rulers and an exhaustive study investigating the relations of the Slovak rulers of Great Moravia with the Holy See, which was published first in Slovak and later in English translation in *Slovak Studies — Cyrillo-Methodiana* (Slovak Institute, Rome, 1963).

Slovak letters as well as American Slovak history were definitely enriched by Dr. Hrušovský's book surveying the growth and expansion of Slovak religious orders in the United States.³ This book incidentally develops a great deal of the cultural history of American citizens of Slovak descent, and would certainly deserve an edition in English.³

Besides these books, Dr. Hrušovský has to his credit hundreds of articles and numerous addresses delivered on various occasions. Unfortunately, so far no bibliography of his writings was published except that in *Literárny Almanach*.⁴

Reflecting on some of the work and life of Dr. Hrušovský, we find that our sentiments, too, correspond with the expression of one of the prominent American leaders in Slovak cultural life who said with deepest sincerity that we "will miss his wise guidance, his great capacity for work and his unfaltering hope of a better world on the morrow."

We can safely say that all true Slovaks on both sides

of the Iron Curtain bear with regret the loss of Dr. Hrušovský. Our one comfort and consolation stems from the belief that national leaders of Dr. Hrušovský's moral stature and defenders of a nation's rights and liberties share the prerogative of great soldiers who never die.

Thus indeed will Dr. Hrušovský continue to live among us; his courage, his vision, his selflessness serving as an undying example for coming generations of Slovaks, inspiring them to win for their country that freedom, that independence and internationally recognized state for which Hrušovský worked literally to his dying breath.

FOOTNOTES

- 1) Hrušovský was best known in Slovakia as a director of a secondary Catholic school with old national traditions in Kláštor pod Znievom.
- 2) *Slovenské Rehole v Amerike* (Slovak Religious Orders in America), Slovenský ústav, Cleveland, Ohio, 1955.
- 3) His only book in English is: "*This is Slovakia*" (Obrana Press, Inc., Scranton, Pa.) 1953, which was the first objective presentation of Slovakia to Americans of Slovak origin as well as to all who read English.
- 4) See *Literárny Almanach Slovák v Amerike*, Ed. Dr. J. Paučo, Middletown, Pa., 1967.

* * *

THE SLOVAK LEAGUE OF AMERICA is dedicated to American Democracy, the American way of life, and encourages Americans of Slovak descent to be loyal and alert citizens of America; it urges and aids Slovak emigrants to become U. S. citizens by publishing appropriate manuals and brochures in Slovak and English.

* * *

THE SLOVAK LEAGUE OF AMERICA through its Ladies Auxiliary, the "VČIELKY" (Bees), sponsors Slovak cultural displays, concerts, lectures, art exhibits, folk festivals, social evenings, etc. Our aim is to have a "Hive" of our "Včielky" in every large Slovak community.

F. V n u k :

Karol Sidor (1901-1953)

The life-span of Karol Sidor was short, but so full of many-sided activities that it can only inspire admiration and respect. He entered on the Slovak political scene as a young 18-year old student and from his first appearance till the untimely death in 1953 he was almost continuously in the thick of the fight. All his adult life was completely devoted to the cause of his nation. In this struggle he was to experience some of the supreme triumphs as well as deepest humiliations which befall the Slovak nation during his life-time.

Karol Sidor was born in Ružomberok on July 16th, 1901. As a young student he came under the powerful influence of Andrej Hlinka who was the parish priest of Ružomberok and at that time already a fearless, charismatic and acknowledged leader of the Slovak people oppressed by the Magyar rule. The Magyar oppression was ruthless, systematic and in its denationalizing process so successful that the Slovak leaders had resignedly steadied themselves for national extinction in the very near future. Into this pessimistic and hopeless atmosphere the youth of Hlinka's entourage injected a new and much needed hope. On the pages of "Národné noviny", the most influential journal of the day, K. Sidor published in January 1918 his clarion-like call: "Let us restore štúr's epoch!" He was referring to the 1840's and 1850's when the young Slovak enthusiasts around L. štúr rallied the Slovak national spirit and actively asserted Slovak political and cultural aspirations.

At the end of World War I Slovakia breathed a sigh of relief. The suffocating link with the old Hungary was finally and irrevocably broken and the Slovaks entered into a hopeful union with the Czechs in a common state: Czecho-Slovakia. The magyarization of the Slovak nation was arrested and the way was opened for the free and unhindered development of its national needs and desires.

However, serious difficulties arose soon after liberation. The Czechs, who were more numerous and more advanced both economically and culturally, looked on the Slovaks at best as their poor relations. Their arrogant and patronizing treatment of the Slovaks very quickly led to disenchantment, created a lot of bitterness and dangerously strained Slovak-Czech relations. The majority of Slovaks felt deceived, betrayed in their trust, dispossessed of their rightful due.

At the head of these discontented masses stood Andrej Hlinka, who in the autumn of 1919 undertook a journey to Paris to protest against the unequal partnership to which his countrymen in Czecho-Slovakia had been relegated in spite of the solemn promises given in writing by President Masaryk when signing the Pittsburgh Agreement.

After his return from an unsuccessful mission in Paris Hlinka was put in prison. Karol Sidor immediately organized a student protest strike. For the leading part in this venture Sidor was expelled from his school and could complete his high school studies only as an external student.

As a young student Sidor was attracted to literary and journalistic pursuits. In 1919 he was a co-founder of the literary-cultural magazine, "Vatra" ('Bonfire'), in which he published his first short stories and plays with a strong social undertone. But it was the ever-changing and challenging world of journalism which finally absorbed his full attention. Initially Sidor's work in the editorial office of "Slovák" (official organ of the Hlinka People's Party) was just occasional and more or less accidental. But Hlinka soon realized that his party must possess a modern popular daily with a high journalistic standard of reporting, informing and commenting. He entrusted Tuka and Sidor with this demanding and responsible task and when in 1929 Tuka was put on trial (and subsequently imprisoned), Sidor took over. With Sidor as editor-in-chief the party daily "Slovák" became a powerful weapon in the fight for Slovak autonomy.

In the meantime Sidor grew up both physically and politically. He became Hlinka's right hand, his indispensable and highly-valued helper. His name and reputation

reached every corner of Slovakia and among the Slovak masses he enjoyed a popularity second to Hlinka. In 1935 he was elected a deputy of the Prague parliament where his alertness, fiery speeches and searching questions earned him the reputation of the stormy petrel of this assembly. He was considered a radical politician, a tough fighter and an uncompromising autonomist. All this Sidor indeed was, but these characteristics were not inherent in his nature. He had developed them in the service of the Slovak cause. It is a great pity that he and his contemporaries had to spend their talents and energies in a fight which was not of their choice. Had the Czechs granted the Slovaks autonomy as they had promised, treated them as equals, as they should have, all these energies could have been constructively channelled into a common effort to build Czecho-Slovakia into a happy homeland of two brotherly nations: the Slovaks and the Czechs.

The Czechs, and indeed many Slovaks, thought Sidor to be a Czech-hater and a separatist. On account of his Polonophil attitude he was frequently accused by his opponents of wanting to break up Czecho-Slovakia in order to unite Slovakia with Poland. It was an unjust accusation. Sidor's friendly disposition towards Poland was a part of his Slavophil sentiments which, incidentally, included the Czechs also. Sidor's hope and dream was a strong Slavic central European federation, poised between Germany and Russia, yet independent of both. It was his and our tragedy that this hope was not realized and that the Czechs, whom Sidor would have liked to have seen with the Slovaks and Poles opposing the German and Russian expansionist tendencies, were his most persistent political opponents. Sidor's activities in the eventful months October 1938 to March 1939 must be considered in the light of these realities.

At the beginning of 1938 Sidor issued to his followers the signal to intensify the struggle for autonomy. After twenty years of frustration this was to be a year of decision and on October 6th, 1938 the Hlinka People's party achieved its long-fought goal: autonomy. Czechoslovakia became a federated state, Czecho-Slovakia, and within its framework Slovakia obtained its own parliament and its own government led by Dr. Jozef Tiso. Karol Sidor was made a Deputy

Prime Minister in the central government. At the same time he assumed the leadership of the newly-formed paramilitary Hlinka guards.

As an avowed autonomist Sidor strove very hard to make autonomy workable and mutually advantageous to both sides. It was not an easy task and it was made even more difficult by the intransigence of Czech bureaucracy and by the mounting radicalism of a growing number of dissatisfied Slovaks. In Slovakia it was mainly the University students and the Hlinka guards who became the torch-bearers of aggressive and vociferous radicalism demanding the full independence of Slovakia.

In the Czech lands there was a general reluctance to accept the Slovaks as equal partners. The Slovaks were implicitly and even openly accused of having obtained their autonomy by stealth and blackmail. The Czech political, military and administrative leaders tried their hardest to make autonomy as unpalatable and cumbersome as possible and even to undo it by a military coup. Early in 1939 a military plot initiated by General Alois Elias was hatched in Prague. It was later sanctioned by the highest members of the central government and boldly put into operation during the night of 9th/10th March 1939.

The Czech military coup caught everybody in Slovakia by surprise. Sidor, who was staying in Prague, was not only surprised, he was profoundly shocked. He was dismayed by the heavyhanded action of the Prague government and saw in it not only a direct threat to Slovak autonomy, but also a potential danger to the further existence of Czecho-Slovakia.

In dismissing Tiso's government in Slovakia and sending military units to occupy Slovak cities and towns the Czechs were unwittingly playing Hitler's political game. This became plain to them almost immediately when their occupation evoked complete rejection and bitter resentment in Slovakia. Instead of solving a minor problem they had created a major one. There was not a single Slovak politician worthy of the name who was willing to go along with the Czech plans to subdue Slovakia by force. To get out of this mess of their own making (which

in the meantime provided Hitler with a welcome opportunity to set into motion his plans for the liquidation of Czecho-Slovakia) the Czechs now turned to Sidor.

Ever afraid of German intentions and considering Hitler far the greater of two evils, Sidor, after some hesitation, concluded that it would be in the interests of the Slovak nation to preserve Czecho-Slovakia in its federated form. It was a decision which found little understanding among the more radical of the Slovak politicians and caused considerable confusion even among the rank and file of the Hlinka guards. Sidor was weighing not only the immediate short-time advantages which were obvious to everybody, but also the long-range consequences of the steps to be undertaken.

With the approval of the Presidium of the Hlinka People's party Sidor accepted the Premiership of the Slovak autonomous government. Having assumed responsible office he did his utmost to calm the situation, to restore order and to revive mutual confidence. But the crisis was now beyond his power.

The Germans, determined to liquidate Czecho-Slovakia, saw in the Czech coup a suitable pretext to start the ball rolling. They expected that the Slovaks would not need much prompting where separation from the Czechs was concerned. They chose Sidor as a man of stature and authority to carry out the proclamation of Slovak independence. This Sidor resolutely refused to do, arguing that this was not the appropriate time and he was not authorized person to initiate such a far-reaching step. The same answer he gave also to W. Keppler, Hitler's special emissary, who came to see him in Bratislava in the small hours of March 12th, 1939. Sidor's dignified and determined refusal to assist Hitler in his dismembering of Czecho-Slovakia was a brave and gallant gesture which would not have been lost in the age of chivalry. But in the brutal world of Hitler's 'Realpolitik' its moral strength was lost. Hitler contemptuously branded Sidor as "a soldier of Prague" and then went on in his anti-Czech campaign as if nothing had happened.

Yet Sidor's actions were not lost among Slovak politicians. His solitary stand, his insistence on legality and

correct procedures made all the Slovak leaders cautious and alert in their actions and dealings. Thus one finds that the proclamation of Slovak independence, when it did take place, was carried out with strict observance of legal procedures, i. e. independence was proclaimed, not by an unauthorized individual, but by the Slovak parliament constitutionally convened by the President of Czecho-Slovakia, by a free vote of its deputies and without any direct pressure or interference.

In the first Slovak government Sidor was made Minister of the Interior. As Sidor said later, he accepted the position against his will, after lengthy persuasion, and resigned from his office two days later. Events seemed to have conspired against him and he was visibly embarrassed by the new course and development of Slovak politics. His "error of judgment"—as it was seen then by many of his colleagues—cost him his political career but brought him an unexpected flood of popularity from ordinary people who sympathized with him in his predicament.

Unfortunately this newly-found popularity became also a shield for the enemies of Slovak independence. Using Sidor's name and his anti-German sentiment they tried to drive a wedge between Slovak-German relations. For a new state which could exist only under German protection it was vital to keep these relations neighborly and without any provocative gestures. Others tried to exploit personal differences between Sidor on the one hand and Tiso, Ďurčanský, etc. on the other, and transplanting them into a political sphere tried to split national and ideological unity so essential at that time.

It seems that Sidor did not quite see that among his sympathizers and newly-acquired supporters were many of his former enemies and slanderers. The Slovak government watched the situation with apprehension. They concluded that Sidor—though unknowingly—had become an obstruction to a speedy consolidation of the political situation in Slovakia. When the Germans objected to his further stay in Slovakia, Sidor was asked to take a diplomatic appointment at the Vatican as the Slovak Minister to the Holy See. He was most reluctant to accept this offer

which he rightly viewed as an attempt to exclude him from domestic politics. But eventually he agreed and in June 1939 he went to the Vatican where he served as a diplomatic representative of the Slovak Republic for six years.

Sidor himself gave an account of his activities in a book "Six years at the Vatican" (*Šest' rokov pri Vatikáne*, Obrana Press, Scranton, Pa., 1947). In Rome he quickly settled into his new job. He found it not only new and interesting, but also challenging and demanding, especially after the outbreak of the World War II. After September 1939 he was repeatedly approached by dissident Slovak politicians and diplomats (Hodža, Paulíny-Tóth, Harminc, Szatmáry, etc.) to join them in forming an anti-Nazi Slovak group in exile. But he declined.

This decision did not come easy and in making it Sidor was guided by the Slovak national interests. The Western powers (namely England and France) in spite of their "de facto" recognition of Slovakia were not inclined to continue in this recognition after the outbreak of war. They were unwilling to support any Slovak exile group advocating an independent Slovakia and switched their support to Beneš and his followers. Beneš's aim was the restoration of pre-Munich Czecho-Slovakia. Yet Sidor knew only too well how deeply the Slovak nation was attached to its own state. Any action against independent Slovakia would be tantamount to a betrayal of Slovak history and tradition.

Sidor knew that Germany would lose the war, but he was also convinced in his mind that the Western allies would not go against the wishes of the Slovak nation in depriving it of its independence. He saw the future of Slovakia in a loose Slovak-Polish-Czech federation and he was continuously striving for this ambitious ideal. In Kazimierz Papée, Polish Minister at the Vatican, he found a helpful colleague and sincere friend. Through him Sidor submitted several proposals about the future Slovak-Polish-Czech cooperation in the post-war years. These suggestions and propositions were seriously and attentively treated by the Polish government-in-exile in London.

Unfortunately for the Slovaks and the whole Central Europe the Allies at Yalta abandoned Central Europe to

the Russians as the Soviet zone of interest. The tragic result of this political barter was the Iron Curtain with Slovakia, Poland and many other proud nations of Europe on the wrong side of it. With complete disregard for the wishes of the people Soviet Russia imposed communist regimes, drew new frontiers, introduced its totalitarian rule into this part of Europe. In the process independent Slovakia was liquidated, its leaders murdered or jailed, the nation enslaved, Sidor too was sentenced 'in absentia' to a 20-year imprisonment.

In 1945, having been granted political asylum, Sidor became an exile in the Vatican. But even in this position — using his influence and connections at the Vatican and in Rome—he was able to do much for the Slovak refugees who were fleeing the Red Army. In December 1948 he founded the Slovak National Council Abroad and as its President did his utmost to advance the cause of Slovakia in the post-war world.

In 1950 he emigrated to Montreal, Canada, where he died on October 20th, 1953.

APPENDIX

WHY AND HOW THE SLOVAKS SEPARATED FROM THE CZECHS?

An explanatory memorandum was submitted by Karol Sidor to the State Secretary of the Holy See and to Pope Pius XII personally in summer 1943.

In the document Sidor outlined a short history of the Slovak struggle for autonomy, promised to them by the President Masaryk in 1918, but denied in the subsequent years 1918-38. This mistaken policy of the Prague government towards Slovak legitimate aims and aspirations as well as others injustices and wrongdoings of the Czech administration created an atmosphere of mistrust and bitterness and considerably weakened the foundations of the common state.

The Czechs tried to justify their centralist and oppressive policies towards the Slovaks by three completely erroneous arguments:

1. They maintained that the Slovaks did not have their

own educated class of able administrators to run Slovak affairs in Slovakia;

2. That Slovakia was too poor and, without Czech financial help and know-how, it would collapse economically;

3. That the Czechs and Slovaks formed but one nation and hence there was no need for two separate administrative organizations in one state.

It was only after the Munich crisis, in October 1938, that the Czechs reluctantly agreed to the establishment of an autonomous Slovak government.

Unfortunately this arrangement did not last long. Hitler—as he confessed in his book “Mein Kampf”—felt an intense dislike towards the Czechs. In 1939 he decided to liquidate Czecho-Slovakia. First he tried to exploit the existing Slovak-Czech antagonism. He approached K. Sidor, asking him to declare Slovak independence. When Sidor refused, Hitler invited to Berlin Dr. J. Tiso and explained to him that Slovakia had only two options open:

(i) to stay in Czecho-Slovakia and share the lot of the Czechs who were singled out by Hitler for political liquidation; or

(ii) to declare their own independence and thus prevent national subjugation and humiliation.

Dr. Tiso explained this proposition to the Slovak deputies at the special meeting of the Slovak Diet on March 14, 1939. They voted freely and unanimously for Slovak independence.

The world acknowledged the legality and propriety of their action by extending diplomatic recognition to the new state. The Vatican was among the first to give Slovakia both ‘de facto’ and ‘de jure’ recognition.

The separation of Slovakia from the Czech lands was an act of self-preservation. “The Slovaks could not have done otherwise. Any other move would have been tantamount to national suicide”, writes K. Sidor in the concluding paragraphs in this memorandum.

CURRENT ISSUES

Proclamation of the 42nd Congress of the Slovak League of America

At Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

Solemnly convened in Congress, the officers and delegates of the Slovak League of America formally declare that:

1. We rededicate ourselves and our membership to the preservation of the basic moral principles set forth in the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution and the Bill of Rights of the United States of America and the United Nations organization.

2. In light of the above, we request our member organizations and the memberships to solicit their local, state and federal officials for assistance needed to reestablish Slovakia as a democratic state in a free Central Europe.

3. Further we ask all our fellow citizens to likewise rededicate themselves to the great challenge and opportunities confronting all decent God fearing people in this period of violence, hatred and abuse of lawful authority; for, without a concerted effort by the silent majority, we could easily lose the God given rights and freedoms which we here enjoy, and which are presently non-existent in Slovakia and other nations with age old Christian cultures and traditions, and

to insure the continued safeguarding of these precious rights and gifts, as loyal citizens, we put our trust in and support the dedicated efforts of our President, Richard M. Nixon, to end the Indochina War, to establish an honorable peace and to restore domestic tranquility.

In witness whereof, we have caused these sentiments to be published this 24th day of May, 1970.

Edward J. Behuncik, President

Joseph Paučo, Secretary

Slovak World Congress

(Mr. TAFT asked and was given permission—June 30, 1970—to address the House of Representatives for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. TAFT. Mr. Speaker, last week the American Slovak fraternal and religious organizations were participating in the First Slovak World Congress which was held in New York City at the Americana Hotel. I had both the honor and the pleasure to be one of their guests at the banquet, Sunday, June 21, together with my colleagues from the Congress—Ray J. Madden, Paul Findley, Michael A. Feighan, William E. Minshall, and John M. Murphy. Congressman Joseph M. Gaydos, himself of Slovak origin, was unfortunately in hospital at the time and missed this worthy event. Ambassador Nguyen Huu Chi, permanent observer to the United Nations, was also present. Representatives of other American nationalities were also present.

Senator John G. Tower, an outstanding American and an eloquent speaker, gave the keynote address. It was a fine speech and the assembled were unanimous in their praise of Senator Tower's presentation and knowledge of history.

Among the many delegates from the free world, including from Australia, Latin America, Europe, and Canada, who attended the sessions were also three bishops, Andrew G. Grutka of Gary, Ind., the honorary chairman of the congress; Michael Rusnak of Toronto, and Paul Hnilica of Rome, Italy. Stephen B. Roman, the internationally known industrialist from Canada, chaired the proceedings of the congress with Bishop Grutka. Mr. Roman was elected the chairman of the Slovak World Congress for 1970-71.

The major organizations from the United States participating in the congress included the National Slovak Society, presided by John Pankuch, the Slovak Catholic Union, presided by John A. Sabol, the Catholic Sokol, presided by Paul Fallat, Slovak League of America, by Edward Behuncik.

Feeling certain that many other heritage groups in our great country will find gems of hope for their own ideals, I include Senator Tower's introduction and speech in the Record at this point:

Introduction of Key Speaker

(By Joseph Krajša, editor of the largest fraternal American Slovak newspaper)

When you think of Texas you immediately think of something big. And President Nixon has sent someone Big to extend official greetings to the Slovak World Congress. The distinguished United States Senator from Texas, Senator Tower, known as a Progressive-Conservative, is a close advisor to President Nixon and serves on three major committees—Armed Services, Banking and Currency, and the Joint Committee on Defense Production. He has spent more time with our commanders and troops in Southwest Asia than any other member of the Senate. The Senator is an internationally known leader and has been distinguished as a gentleman of dedicated zeal. All of you present here today have displayed a zeal for an ideal. We are fortunate that our distinguished American, Senator Tower, shares our zeal. His presence here during his busy congressional session proves his interest in the Slovak cause, a cause so common to all separate ethnic cultures. His message will be rewarding to all nationality groups, but especially to the Slovak delegates here assembled from all over the free world. And yes, Senator, to the thousands of Slovak Americans living in Texas, too. It has been said that one day the world will be reformed, but not by reformers, but as a result of a zeal for an ideal that is burning in the hearts of dedicated men. Ladies, and gentlemen, it is my pleasure to present to you an internationally known gentleman, our guest to honor, a public servant of dedicated zeal, our distinguished United States Senator from the State of Texas, the Honorable John G. Tower.

Thank you for that very fine introduction.

Mr. President, Your Excellencies, Reverend clergy, Mr. Ambassador, my distinguished colleagues in the Congress, ladies and gentlemen.

It certainly is a great pleasure to be here today. It's extremely difficult for me to undertake to address you as the final speaker on the program. I have listened with great interest to all that has been said, but have not understood it all, since I don't speak Slovak. And so I am reasonably sure that Steve Roman has probably made my speech. But I'll find out afterwards.

I think that this is a great and significant moment that you meet here in your first World Congress. I think it is always inspiring when like-minded people get together for a noble common cause. You are Slovaks and I am an Anglo-Saxon. But we are all children of God. And as such, we are enjoined to stand fast in the liberty with Christ who set us free. We are all of one family. And we are our brothers in the common cause to try to achieve in this world, and in that which God intends, freedom for all mankind.

There are those in this world today who I think are ready to give up in the struggle against totalitarianism. I am so happy to note that you people are not among them. There are many in our country who have never felt the lash of communist imperialism. Because Karl Marx stated things in lofty terms, in terms of thinking what he considered to be human objectives, they think perhaps that system is not so bad after all. I wish every American could have shared the experiences many of you had, who have lived under communist totalitarianism to understand what it is all about. I have never lived in a totalitarian system, but I've been in places in this world where I've seen the stultifying and inhuman effects of the communist drive for world aggrandizement.

As it has been noted, I have been in Vietnam several times. I returned from there, most recently, several weeks ago. Two weeks ago, today, I was sludging around on the battlefield in Cambodia. Today I'm glad to report to you that we are achieving our objectives in Vietnam. We can measure our achievement in several ways. We have reduced the capacity of the enemy to wage massive forces against us. We have improved the fighting qualities of the army of South Vietnam. And I can tell you that Army, and indeed all the Armed Forces of South Vietnam performed

in a most professional, courageous and effective manner in the recent and current operations in Cambodia.

And, I am given to understand by the military commanders, that this will hasten the day when we can bring our boys back home. But I think the most important reason, and underlying everything, is the fact that now most of the Vietnamese people have had some experience with Communism. They may not understand democracy, as you and I understand it. They may not understand all of the responsibilities of self-government, as you and I understand it. Those who have lived under the Viet Cong, and under the heel of North Vietnamese military have made a decision, that they would rather be with us.

I think that the only way we can fail to accomplish our objectives, in trying to combat communist aggression in Southeast Asia, is for the people here at home to throw in the towel. I do not think we can lose the war in Southeast Asia if we can maintain our presence there.

I know I didn't have to convince you about our responsibilities in the world. You know what Communism has done to Eastern Europe and what America must do to maintain her own security. You know the reason why. It's the same reason that we fight today in South Vietnam because Communist aggressor powers seek to expand their realm by force.

There are so many naive people, unfortunately, too many of them on the college faculties of this country, who hold that there is no danger from Communist aggression. I imagine that the people in Czecho-Slovakia can say a word or two on that score. And I wish that they who have fled from the Russian tanks and the Russian machine guns could be on the college faculties so that our youth can get a better impression of what Communism is really like. How can we believe that there is no danger?

There are those who try to impose a sense of guilt on the people of the United States for the arms race. We didn't start the arms race! It was not the U.S. which continued to maintain its powerful military force immediately following World War II. We demobilized. It was not the U.S. that swallowed-up the Eastern European countries with the use of military force. It was not the U.S. who sealed off Berlin. It was not the U.S. who invaded

South Korea. And, in the past few years, from the point of strategic technology, the Russians have been developing their military potential at a much greater rate than we have. I submit to you that there is a clear and present danger which you well know. And I am not speaking so much to you, as I am through you, to a lot of people who are not in this room.

But who should understand that this nation must maintain a posture of military superiority, not inferiority. Not parity, but superiority! Because if we fail to maintain it, my friends, there will be no hope for the Slovaks, nor for the millions of others to ever aspire to freedom and self-determination and have any reasonable hope of realizing it. Does anyone believe that if the Soviets achieve strategic military superiority they will not use it to blackmail the rest of the world into going along their way. And you know what their way is. My friends, we are going to be in grave trouble by the end of this decade, or perhaps even before, if we don't recognize this fact.

I don't believe that we, Americans, can retreat to "fortress America" and hope to survive as a great nation ourselves. Even if we made our country impregnable; if we withdrew from the world, other nations would have to make their own accommodations with the Soviets. Then we will find ourselves in grave economic difficulties in a few years hence, because we are not a self-sufficient nation. We depend on sources and resources from other parts of the world. So, our capacity to progress as free people in the free enterprise system is involved here. But beyond that the mantle of world leadership has fallen on our shoulders whether we like it or not. We certainly are our brothers keepers! If we, as a Judeo-Christian society don't believe that then we have lost sight of the basic tenet. We are our brothers keepers, and have a responsibility to try and maintain a secure world in which Slovaks and all others, can aspire to freedom and hope ultimately to achieve it.

I'm pleased to bring you greetings from the White House. I'm also pleased to observe that you are willing to make common cause with all others, to combat the great Communist menace. There can be no freedom where Russian tanks, Russian soldiers occupy soil. There is no

freedom in such territory anyplace. Ultimately, I think that all societies in this world can aspire to the kind of progress we in the U. S. and Canada have enjoyed through the free enterprise system. In the final analysis, when man becomes totally dependent upon the State, he loses his freedom. The right of man to own and do with his property what he considers best to him and his environment is a basic right and the major factor which prevents his being reduced to meek dependency on the State.

I commend you for what you are doing. I wish you well. Know that you are not alone, that there will be those of us who although are not Slovak, will be at your side. God speed!

COMMENTS

SIXTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE POET JÁN DORÁNSKY

Among Slovak poets and writers in exile whom we considered in 1945 as the "young generation," there are several who are approaching their venerable age of 60 years. In 1971, we should not bypass in silence the 60th birthday of one of them—Ján Doránsky, born on May 28, 1911, in Trstená.

Coming from a part of Slovakia which gave to Slovak literature and public life many outstanding poets and novelists, Ján Doránsky inherited a love for literature and began to write in his early youth, first for student's periodicals, later for literary and cultural monthlies. After finishing his secondary education, he studied law at the University of Bratislava and practiced as a notary in various parts of Slovakia. The outbreak of the Second World War interrupted his civilian life. Being, however, known at that time as a poet and writer, he was retained in the Department for cultural affairs at the Ministry of National Defense. When the Russian armies overran Slovakia, Doránsky with thousands of other Slovak intellectuals left with his family for the West. After spending two years in Austria and two years in Rome, he landed in Canada

in 1949 and has lived in Montreal for the past eighteen years.

Doránsky is a poet of considerable versatility, and besides many lyrical verses and patriotic poems, he wrote in Canada a drama called *Stará mat', neopúšť'aj nás* (Grandmother do not leave us alone), successfully played by Slovak groups across Canada. The play was originally published in *Kanadský Slovák* and later in 1953 in book form. Before coming to Canada, Doránsky had published in 1939 a play called *Novou cestou* (On a new path) and in 1943 a collection of satirical verses *Slepí pasažieri* (Blind passengers).

In Slovakia as well as in Canada, his poetry was published in various anthologies: *Pred ohnivým drakom* (1939), *Vo vyhnanstve* (1947), *Zdravica sv. Cyrilovi a Metodovi* (1963); in literary periodicals (*Kultúra*, *Most*) and in almanacs. In recent years his epigrams published either in the quarterly *Most* or in newspapers and almanacs became preferred reading among Slovak intelligentsia in the free world.

Besides poetry, Doránsky wrote a number of short novels and other prose contributions for periodicals (*Orol Tatranský*, *Svojet'*, *Kultúra*) under the pen-name Hámorník and for the Slovak almanacs and newspapers in Canada and the United States under the name J. D. Oravec.

Doránsky's literary production is extensive and only the difficulties which a poet or a writer has to overcome in exile, prevented him from publishing his writings in book form. At his 60th birthday, two or three collections of lyrical verses, one collection of short novels and three collections of epigrams and satire are among his manuscripts awaiting more favorable circumstances for publication.

All who like his poetry and his excellent epigrams called by him "Jedorasty", cannot but wish him that he may live to see not only his manuscripts published but also go back to a free and independent Slovakia for which he fought and to which he dedicated his life and his talent. *Ad multos annos!*

J. M. Kirschbaum

GREAT DISTINCTION FOR SLOVAK POET KAROL STRMEŇ

Slovak émigré poetry has given to Slovak literature not only its share of excellent original works which echo the great poets of Western nations, but also a new dimension in masterful translations from several world literatures.

Recently Slovak literature achieved recognition in this field from the excellent work in scholarship and poetry of one of the most gifted Slovak poets, Prof. Karol Strmeň. On October 28, 1970, during the meeting of the Association of American Teachers of French, held in New Orleans, the cultural attaché of the French Embassy in Washington presented Prof. Strmeň, on behalf of the Government of France, with the Medal of the Knight of Academic Palms.

No doubt it has been a deserved distinction, and Slovak literary community abroad is rightly proud of it.

Karol Strmeň (born in 1921), by vocation university professor of Romance literature, enriched Slovak poetry by translations from several World literatures as well as by his own poetic works. Belonging to the "Catholic Moderna" but following his own literary path, Strmeň impressed literary critics and readers almost unanimously as a gifted and mature poet from the time he published his first verses in the prestigious literary monthly *Slovenské Pohľady*, and his first two collections of verses *Výžinok Života* (Harvest of Life) (1940), and *Testament* (1945).

Attracted by French, Spanish, German and Italian poets, whose works he was masterfully translating during the past two decades, Strmeň deviated from the main stream of Slovak émigré poetry as indicate his two collections of verses *Strieborná Legenda* (The Silver Legend) (1950), and *Čakajú nivy jar* (Meadows are Expecting Spring) (1963), and his contributions to literary journals and newspapers. His poetry is rather for the cultivated than for the average readers and the traditional and national values are less visible in his poetry than in the poetry of other Slovak émigré poets.

Among Strmeň's early translations is an anthology

from the poetry of Michael Eminescu, R. M. Rilke, the wellknown poem by Edgar Allan Poe "Raven" and several poems by Dante. His translating activity increased during the years of his exile to a degree unequalled by any other Slovak poet or writer. He continued to translate from practically all Romance languages as well as from German and English. Among the main translations are Robert Browning's *Portuguese Sonnets* (1947), Paul Claudel's *Via Crucis* (1954) and Dante's *Inferno* (1963). In manuscript form he has Shakespeare's dramas. Slovak literary journals like *Most*, *Literárny Almanach Slováka v Amerike*, and other Slovak annuals have published regularly his translations from many literatures. His master work in translated poems is, according to literary critics, Dante's *Inferno*, published in a highly elaborate volume also from the printing point of view. It was, however, Paul Claudel, whose work he liked best and on whom he wrote his doctoral dissertation.

Strmeň who originally intended to study theology, translated also the New Testament and other religious books, hymns and psalms. Together with Šprinc he deserves credit for many cultural activities which developed among Slovaks in exile since the end of the Second World War. Like Šprinc he left home for the United States and in 1949 settled in Cleveland. He is a member of several learned societies, of the Slovak Institute, Slovak Association of Writers and Artists, etc. Even though many of his poems reflect his strong patriotic feelings and aversion to communism before which he fled in 1945, Strmeň was among the few émigré poets and writers whose verses pierced the Iron Curtain and were published in 1968 thaw in Slovakia.

Slovak émigré writers and poets congratulate their distinguished colleague.

J. M. Kirschbaum

* * *

The Polish monthly *Kultura*, which is published in Paris by the intellectuals who either did not return to Poland after the Second World War, or escaped the Communist tyranny, dedicated a special issue to the upheavals

in Czecho-Slovakia. Unfortunately the presentation of the events which led to the liberalization and de-Stalinization movement seems to be strongly influenced by Czech propaganda or insufficient knowledge of the situation in Slovakia, as well as of the role which Slovaks played in changing the Stalinist system and giving "a human face to socialism."

Prof. J. M. Kirschbaum who has many friends among Polish intellectuals and has been known for his positive attitude towards Poland since the time of his studies in Warsaw and Cracow, wrote to the editor of *Kultura* a letter but he never received an answer to his friendly remarks. As a result, we decided to publish the letter as a document to record that we were not silent when the presentation of historical events, in which the Slovaks played an important role, has been distorted.

Mr. Jerzy Giedroyc,
Editor: *Kultura*,
91 Avenue de Poissy,
Paris, France.

Dear Sir:

I have read with great interest your special issue dedicated to Czecho-Slovakia. As a representative of that group of Slovak political exiles who always stood for a close friendship with Poland, I feel obliged to write a few comments on that issue, especially with regard to the view that the movement for liberalization and democratization stemmed from the Hussite traditions. There is a number of good studies in the West by Anglo-Saxon and French political writers who analyzed the policy of Czecho-Slovakia during the period of the so-called de-Stalinization and none of them came to a similar conclusion. Only a few journalists stationed in Prague during the summer of 1968 accepted, for reasons which I will mention later, the Czech view that the liberalization movement was due to their national traditions.

Books and studies by Western experts in Eastern Europe, like Prof. Skilling, Ph. E. Mosley, W. E. Griffith, Kertesz and even Ducháček, indicate that the Czech part

of the population of Czecho-Slovakia were lethargic and did not come until 1968 with any noteworthy opposition to the Stalinist regime of Antonín Novotný. Two Czech writers in Griffith's symposium even accuse their compatriots of fully supporting that regime after the upheavals in Hungary and Poland or later when the Slovak intellectuals began to attack the Stalinist dictatorship. (See Canadian Slavonic Papers, Vol. X, 4, 1968.)

I think it can be objectively established that the movement for liberalization and democratization not only started in Slovakia, but also was carried on mainly by the Slovak intellectuals. One of the contributors to your special issue on Czecho-Slovakia, P. Čarnogurský, pointed to this fact, but did not develop his thesis by giving names and data. In all serious studies in the West it has been accepted that the beginning of the de-Stalinization was a Congress of Slovak writers in May 1963 and a following Congress of Slovak journalists. Actually, Slovak writers attacked the Novotný regime and its Stalinist form and tactics in 1956 and the crimes and methods of that regime were described in a book by Ladislav Mňačko: "Belated Reportages." The Slovak review "Kultúrný Život," then systematically attacked and criticized the regime, asking for a change towards more freedom and more human methods.

After 1963, the Slovak intellectuals, among them also several intellectuals of Jewish origin (G. Husák, L. Novomeský, M. Hysko, V. Mihalík, L. Kaliský, E. Löbl, E. Goldstücker, Spitzer), began an organized struggle for more freedom, justice and democracy. They created a sort of brain trust, behind Alexander Dubček, who became the embodiment and leader of this movement.

The reasons behind the fact that the movement started in Slovakia, can be found in the harsh treatment of Slovakia by the Prague Government under Gottwald and mainly under Novotný. In the purges organized by Prague was eliminated not only Dr. Vlado Clementis, the ideological leader of communism in Slovakia, who died on the gallows, but soon after him all the influential and educated communist leaders branded as bourgeois nationalists. Slovakia

was submerged in terror, persecution, de-nationalization and an economic crisis, which was created intentionally by the Government of Prague. President Novotný also hurt the pride and feelings of the Slovak population and, therefore, in the 1960's the outrage was general in Slovakia. When the "bourgeois nationalists" were freed from prisons and rehabilitated, they began to speak about the horrors of their investigations and imprisonment and this gave the impulse to the writers and to the intellectuals, who previously sided with Novotný for an attack on Novotný's regime, because in the purges of the 1950's, mainly Slovaks and Jews became the victims of the furor of the Prague Government. In the Czech part of the country the intellectuals did not feel the terror with such intensity and, therefore, they joined only slowly and individually the movement for democratization and de-Stalinization. As a result, the movement was headed not only by Dubček but also by Goldstücker, Löbl, and many others, all from Slovakia.

Should your Revue be interested in a more detailed analysis of this period and should more arguments be required to support my statement that not the Hussite traditions or Czech attachment to democracy were the moving force in the upheavals of 1968 in Czecho-Slovakia, but the Slovak nationalism and striving of Slovaks and some good Czechs for freedom and a more human life, I would be only too glad to send to you a documented study on this subject.

Yours very truly,

Prof. J. M. Kirschbaum

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THE SLOVAK LEAGUE OF AMERICA represents an overwhelming majority of organized Americans of Slovak descent; actively affiliated with it are the largest Slovak fraternals, religious organizations, Slovak Clubs and Slovak civic organizations in the United States.

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THE SLOVAK LEAGUE OF AMERICA is an AMERICAN INSTITUTION; it was organized May 26, 1907, at Cleveland, O., by the Rev. Stephen Furdek.

BOOK REVIEWS

NEW COLLECTION OF SLOVAK ÉMIGRÉ POETRY

Ján Okál', *Voda a víno* (Water and Wine, United States 1970), pp. 70.

Eugen Vesnin, *Aj v etrúrskech záhradách* (Also in the Gardens of Etruria, Buenos Aires, 1970).

Rome, as the first free refuge of many Slovak intellectuals, inspired several Slovak poets and writers who created during the past quarter of a century literary works of high standards. Among them was not only J. C. Hronský, R. Dilong, M. Šprinc, and K. Strmeň, but also Ján Okál' and Eugen Vesnin. All of them reacted to the beauty of the Eternal city in prose or verse and enriched Slovak émigré literature by several volumes. The above volumes by Ján Okál' and Eugen Vesnin attest to the creative inspiration of Rome and Italy.

Ján Okál' (born in 1915) published his first verses in Slovakia during the War in two collections *Nehnem sa* (I do not move, 1942) and *Lúbsto* (Love, 1944). He also profusely contributed to Slovak periodicals, wrote short stories for children and translated from Ukrainian literature. It was, however, in exile that his talent developed. Even though he spent most of his time as editor of a Slovak newspaper in the United States, and for several years also as the editor of *Literárny Almanach Slováka v Amerike*, he did not cease to publish poetry or prose of refined taste and literary maturity. He also published in English a well-written sketch on the Slovak Robin Hood—*George Janosik: A Carpathian Saga* (1953) and a chronicle in 13 poems called *Kro-*

nika Slovákov (The Chronicle of Slovaks, 1954), as well as a satirical novel *Bliženci* (Gemini, 1962) and translations from *I Fioretti di San Francesco*.

After a few years of silence, he surprised now readers and critics by the above mentioned collection of his poetry, in addition to many verses published in the literary journal *Most* or in almanacs and calendars. His collection *Voda a víno* (Water and Wine) is a masterfully illustrated volume of lyrical sketches in verse which reflect Okál's years spent in Rome and Italy. All his poems, usually not longer than one or two verses, are sensitive and well-written images of beautiful monuments and places of Rome and of other countries which he visited during his exile.

The volume under review proves that Okál' is a refined and gifted poet as well as an alert commentator on literary and cultural matters. Personal reminiscences and memories give to his book, as well as to his scattered poems in literary journals, a certain gentleness and tenderness. All his published works were artistically illustrated by the well-known Slovak artist, Joseph G. Cincik, and belong to the finest readings in Slovak émigré literature.

* * *

The ancient beauty of Rome and the cultural heritage of the Mediterranean area marked even more the lyrical verses of Eugen Vesnin (Dr. Ignác Zelenka, born in 1913). After publishing a score of verses in Slovakia before the war, Vesnin spent in silence nearly three dec-

ades before his three collections of mature lyrical poetry were published in Slovak, and an anthology in Italian.

For the past 25 years a librarian in the Vatican library, Vesnin—as the Osservatore Romano wrote when his Italian collection was published—is a “poet of peace, love, patriotism and the beauty of nature, but also well-known as a scholar.” Osservatore Romano mentions in this connection Vesnin’s works on the Vatican, on the Holy See, as well as an essay on Juraj Kržanić, the precursor of Pan-Slavism, and on the liturgical editions which can be found in the Vatican library.

Among Vesnin’s published poetical works should be mentioned the following collections: *Zo zátišia mimóz* (1965) which appeared also in Italian translation by Prof. Leo Magnino under the title *L’Oasi delle mimose* (Rome 1967); *Ja nie som potomok zlatokopov* (I am not

a descendant of gold-diggers) and *S temena mojich hôr* (From the top of my mountains, Buenos Aires 1966). These collections were followed by lyrical verses *Aj v etrúrskejších záhradách* (Also in the Gardens of Etruria, Buenos Aires, 1970), which seems to be the best selection of Vesnin’s poetry.

In spite of the fact that Vesnin spent nearly his whole life in Rome where he originally studied theology, his poetry is deeply patriotic and one of his verses “Salute to my Country” can be considered even in its Italian translation as one of the best patriotic poems of the Slovak émigré literature. The literary critic Ján E. Bor considers Vesnin as one of the highly gifted lyrical poets of his generation. The readers, including this reviewer, will agree that his poetry is an enjoyable and cultivated reading.

J. M. Kirschbaum

TWO FOREIGN LANGUAGE COLLECTIONS OF SLOVAK POETRY

Mikuláš Šprinc: *DRIFTWOOD* —

Poems translated from the Slovak by the author, Larz Pearson and Jaroslav Vajda. Engravings by Dr. Joseph G. Cincik. Published by the Slovak Institute in Cleveland, Ohio, 1969. Printed by the Benedictine Press at St. Andrew’s Abbey, Cleveland, O.

Gorazd Zvonický: *SOLTANTO ROVINE* — Italian translation by Milan S. Ďurica and Ernesto Simonetto. Published by Associazione di cultura ceca e slovacca “Arturo Cronia,” Padua, 1968.

Slovak culture was enriched recently by two excellent collections of translations of poems by two of our outstanding poets in exile.

The first collection is published

in English and presents a selection of recent verses from the lyrical works of the cultivated and sensitive poet, Mikuláš Šprinc. The selection, as well as the translations, are very successful and the English reader will go through this carefully published and artistically illustrated volume with delight. Whoever likes intimate lyrics written by a poet who seems to combine the art of Paul Verlaine and the spirit of St. Francis of Assisi will enjoy every verse of this excellent collection.

Some verses were translated by the author himself, others by the well-known translator of Slovak poetry into English, Rev. J. Vajda, and some by one of the students of the poet, Larz Pearson. As usual,

the translations do not reflect exactly the Slovak text and its musical and rhythmical quality but, on the whole, all translations attest to the talent of both the author and the translators. Those who appreciate poetry which is rooted in the strong belief in the Creator without sounding too religious, and those who like the beauty of life in the songs of birds, the color of flowers, the sound of the wind, and blue skies or the colors of the rainbow, will find delight in reading Mikuláš Šprinc's poetry. The volume also contains several fine poems with patriotic overtones expressing the poet's love for his lost and oppressed native Slovakia.

The author and the publishers deserve credit for enriching Slovak culture by this valuable volume.

The collection "*Soltanto Rovine*" by Gorazd Zvonický in the translation of Prof. Milan S. Ďurica and Ernesto Simonetto, is another valuable contribution. Masterfully illustrated, the volume gives both the Slovak text as well as the Italian translation. Gorazd Zvonický is one of the best contemporary Slovak poets, highly cultivated and gifted. His poetry is of the same *genre* as that of Mikuláš Šprinc—lyrical, intimate, musical and well written. It was, therefore, not easy to make an adequate translation. The translators used free verse and did not look for rhyme. Nevertheless, the volume transfers to the readers the feeling of a Slovak patriot and poet towards the brutal occupation of his native country by Soviet troops and the martyrdom of the Slovak population. The verses express, however, not only intimate and personal sorrows, but also indignation of all Slovak patriots and of the whole Slovak nation.

Once more in Slovak poetry

there is a refined poet following in the footsteps of Slovak fighters for the nation's freedom, who used the most efficient weapon against tyranny and the sufferings of the Slovak people—the deeply felt and masterfully written poetic protest.

As in the case of the volume by Mikuláš Šprinc, Slovak intellectuals in the free world as well as at home will appreciate Zvonický's publication.

— j m k —

Dr. Heinrich Kuhn: *Bibliographisches Handbuch der Tschechoslowakei*. Publications of the Collegium Carolinum, Verlag Robert Lerche, Munich 1969.

Dr. Kuhn has added to his very useful previous work *Handbuch der Tschechoslowakei* this new publication which deals with the biographies of politicians, Party officials and other persons in the public life of the present Czecho-Slovakia.

As in his previous work, Dr. Kuhn shows a detailed knowledge of the subject and prepared it with his usual "pünktlichkeit" and seriousness of a scholar. Therefore, specialists in Eastern Europe will welcome this new publication especially after the Soviet occupation placed Czecho-Slovakia again into the focus of international interest.

Kuhn's work has been published in loose sheets in two volumes which will be welcomed by researchers as a very practical way of dealing with the political figures in occupied Czecho-Slovakia. All biographies are carefully prepared, containing the most important data. In some biographies the author left out the place of birth of some politician or Party official, but he gives detailed information on all

the main leaders either in the government or in the Party.

In some cases, like that of the present First Secretary of the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia, Dr. G. Husák, it would have been useful to mention the ten years he spent in jail under Novotný's regime, as well as his writings in periodicals about his experience in Novotný's dungeons. Dr. Kuhn mentions only three publications by Husák and in the first one there

is a slight mistake in the title. It should read "Zápas o zajtrajšok."

Since the leading figures of Slovak and Czech political life were often presented in the West with journalistic superficiality, confusing Slovaks for Czechs, we welcome this book because it will enable everybody interested in the problems of Czecho-Slovakia to receive correct information.

J. M. Kirschbaum

BOOKS ON DUBČEK AND SLOVAKIA

Among some 50 books in the English and French languages which dealt with the events in Czecho-Slovakia in 1968 and after, there was none, as mentioned last year in my review of books on Slovakia, which paid attention to the situation in Slovakia. The authors of these books overlooked the fact that the liberalization movement had started in Slovakia and that it was also headed by a Slovak—Alexander Dubček. Prof. Gordon Skilling, who is one of the foremost Canadian specialists on post-war Czecho-Slovakia, drew attention to this lack of interest or intentional neglect in the works of Western specialists in Eastern Europe.¹ The role of Slovaks was analyzed and evaluated only in the *Canadian Slavonic Papers* (Vol. X, 4, 1968) by this writer.

In 1970 we have, however, several books or studies which do not treat the events in Czecho-Slovakia in 1968 exclusively as "Prague Spring" but are concerned with the whole country and point out to the specific Slovak problems and the role the Slovaks played in the de-Stalinization period.

The best among these studies in English so far is the book by William Shawcross *DUBČEK* (London,

1970) which would deserve a much more extensive review than space allow us. Another work also deserves our attention is "*Dubček's Blue Print for Freedom*" by Lunghi and Ello (Kimber, London, 1968) as are two essays by the members of the staff of the Czecho-Slovak Section of the B.B.C., Michael Montgomery and Deryck Viney. The latter wrote an interesting essay in "Studies of Comparative Communism" (University of Southern California, July-August 1969).

The book by Shawcross does not give any biography except to say that "he left Oxford in June 1968 and is now writing on Eastern European affairs for the 'Sunday Times.' He is 24 and this is his first book."

In view of this, the book is quite an achievement. From the references, as well as from the contents, it is clear that Shawcross carried out extensive research, interviews, and travelled around Slovakia, including the birth place of Alexander Dubček. As a result, we have in hand a thorough and well documented study. The book is, of course, not without mistakes and shortcomings which, in the intricate situation and confused reporting on events, is to be expected.

While other Western authors ascribed the liberalization movement to the Czechs, Shawcross's main thesis is that Dubček's rise to power and the subsequent liberalization of Czecho-Slovakia were due to the fact that the Slovak question had been the motive force behind these events. He traces Dubček's career within the apparatus of the Communist Party of Slovakia as a more or less obsequious Party member until he decided to spearhead the Slovak movement within the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia for greater justice for all the Slovaks. Carried to the head of this movement that had much deeper roots than most Western observers have cared to point out, Dubček then demonstrated strategic and tactical talents in forestalling Novotný's counter-attacks and eventually in leading the struggle to rid the country of its Stalinist President and Communist Party First Secretary. Although Dubček did not expect it, he saw himself placed at the head of Czecho-Slovakia, the first Slovak to achieve this position.

Up to this point, Shawcross's presentation, despite some mistakes on the meaning and on some details of the 1944 revolt, is very good. The author shows good knowledge of the political situation in Slovakia and an understanding of the problem which Slovakia poses within Czecho-Slovakia.

It is after the time of the invasion by the Soviet Union and her satellites that Shawcross's narrative shows some of its flaws, much of this is due to the fact that he follows Tigrid's book too closely. The author is carried away by his admiration for Dubček and paints his opponents too black. Furthermore, the Slovak problem is completely lost in this part.

Husák's rise to power is dismissed as a personal repetition of Dubček's ascension. No doubt Husák's emergence as the head of the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia was in many ways a personal success, but the fact that a second Slovak rose to the highest position when many Czech Stalinists were waiting in the wings, indicates that the Communist Party of Slovakia, if not other institutions or groups, must also have played some role. With the federalization of Czecho-Slovakia, the Slovak element could not be further ignored as it had been during the Novotný years. It is to be regretted that Shawcross did not pursue the developments in Slovakia and if he was unable to find out more of what happened there after August 1968, he could present at least some hypotheses. As far as Husák is concerned, he also made an error when stating that he graduated at Prague University.

Despite these shortcomings, Shawcross's work must be considered not only as a good piece of research, but in view of his age, is an act of courage, as he did not hesitate to bring forward a problem that Western historiography has been ignoring for more than half a century.

Among the books on Czecho-Slovakia in the French language, it is the one by Pavel Tigrid which deals with Dubček and with the situation leading to the dismissal of Novotný, as well as with the events of 1968, and the aftermath of the invasion. Tigrid's book is entitled *La chute irrésistible d'Alexander Dubček*, (Calmann-Levy, Paris, 1969).

The book was written on the basis of many unpublished documents and minutes of the meetings of the Central Committee of the

Communist Party, or of the government. Tigrid has recognized that the Slovak problem played an important role in the attempts to oust Novotný from his position and he depicts Dubček in this first phase of the struggle within the Central Committee of the Communist Party as a fighting, courageous man. However, the role of Dubček after he took over the office of First Secretary is painted with a certain tendency to diminish his importance or to present him as a timid, indecisive man, lacking in intellectual abilities and preparation to cope with the problem of liberalization. One chapter is entitled "Alexander Dubček, héros malgré lui" which by itself indicates a sort of depreciation and shows an attempt on the part of Tigrid to ascribe the liberalization movement to the Czechs, even though the truth is that the behavior of the Czech masses as well as of some of their politicians greatly contributed to the decision of the Soviets to invade the country and to destroy the liberalization movement.

Tigrid's book is written in a journalistic rather than in a scholarly style, but by using original sources and confidential information, it fills a certain gap in the literature about the events in Czecho-Slovakia in 1967 and 1968. We also find in Tigrid's book a sympathetic mention of Vasil Biľak who strongly opposed Novotný in December 1967 and courageously fought for Slovak interests, but apparently became later one of those sided with Moscow.

More objectively than in Tigrid's book, Slovakia and Dubček are presented in the book by Francois Fetjő *Histoire des démocraties populaires après Staline* (Editions du Seuil, Paris, 1969). In Fetjő's

book, Dubček is not presented as a timid, indecisive and implicitly naive and politically unprepared leader. On the contrary, he is portrayed as a man who believed strongly in his "Communism with human face," and in Lenin's thesis on the independence and the territorial integrity of socialist states. Throughout his book, Fetjő deals with the situation in Czecho-Slovakia with rare objectivity and compares the events with either Hungary or Poland. As one chapter, entitled "La Tragédie Tchécoslovaque et ses prolongements," indicates, he considers the invasion of Czecho-Slovakia as a tragedy and as a brutal and unnecessary action on the part of Moscow. A one-time Communist and author of several books on Eastern Europe and communism, Fetjő presents in his book conclusions which are logical and displays solid knowledge of the problems of the countries under Soviet rule. He writes about Slovakia and the Communist leaders of Slovak origin or born in Slovakia without any bias, which many authors of books on Eastern Europe usually are unable or unwilling to do.

Michel Tatu also published a series of articles and a book on the events in Czecho-Slovakia, and two books by Ladislav Mňačko have been translated into the French language. For the events of 1968, only one of Mňačko's books *La septième nuit* is of importance.

Books in German dealing with the events in Czecho-Slovakia in 1968 are comparatively few when compared to the number of books published in English. With regard to Slovakia, we can mention the German translation of Mňačko's book *Die Siebente Nacht* (Vienna, 1968) which was reviewed last year

in Slovakia. Another author from Slovakia, Dr. Eugen Löbl published his experiences in jail in German, *Die Revolution rehabilitiert ihre Kinder*, (Vienna: Europa, 1968), as well as a political essay published together with Leopold Grünwald, *Die intellektuelle Revolution, Hintergründe und Auswirkungen des "Prager Frühlings,"* (Düsseldorf: Econ, 1969).

While in the first book Dr. Löbl speaks about the persecution and rehabilitation of Communists purged during the Stalinist period and later in the Novotný era, his contribution in the second book presents his views on the possibility of reforming communist systems and of giving them a human face. According to Prof. Skilling "As a severe critique of the Soviet brand of socialism, this book ranks with Djilas' *The New Class*, but represents also an original and imaginative, even if passionate and one-sided, interpretation of the proposed Czechoslovak model. For Löbl, the events of 1968 constituted a new phase in the 'socialist revolution,' continuing the work begun by the October revolution and later interrupted by Stalinism. It was also a renewed effort by Czechs and Slovaks to follow a special path of their own, an attempt which had been made in the 1940s and then had been rudely blocked by Soviet coercion as exemplified by the trials of the 1950s." (International Journal, Vol. XXV, No. 1, p. 197).

There is also, however, a German author, Almar Reitzner, who published a book entitled *Dubček* (München, 1970) but actually deals with all the aspects of the crisis in Czecho-Slovakia in 1967 and with the short period of liberalization and the Soviet invasion of 1968. Reitzner displays a detailed

knowledge of the situation in Czecho-Slovakia and refers to many sources in the Slovak and Czech language which would indicate that he might be one of the Sudeten Germans who now live in West Germany. His approach to the Slovak problem is unbiased. Dubček and other Slovak communist leaders played, according to him, an important role during the crisis of the Communist Party in 1967, and he portrays Dubček as First Secretary of the Communist Party without the caustic remarks or disdain which can be found in Tigrid's book, for instance.

Even though Reitzner's book is rather the work of an experienced journalist who made detailed research, it reflects quite objectively the changing situation in Czecho-Slovakia in those two fateful years. In addition, by quoting from Slovak and Czech periodicals, newspapers and speeches of communist leaders, Reitzner's book preserves useful materials for further research. Speaking probably much better Czech than Slovak, he was led to misspell the name of some Slovak newspapers like "Smena" or "Smer" which he writes in Czech orthography.

The reader is left with the impression that the author had a sincere intention to give a realistic and objective account of the complex situation in both Slovakia and the Czech lands.

- 1) See H. Gordon Skilling: "Thaw and Freeze-Up: Prague 1968." *International Journal* Vol. XXV, No. 1, pp. 192-201.

George F. Kennan: *From Prague after Munich, Diplomatic Papers 1938-1940*, Princeton University Press, 1968, 226 Pages.

The well-known diplomat-historian George F. Kennan contributes

in this volume to the history of the crucial years 1938-1940 by many valuable documents, diplomatic despatches and personal observations. As he admits himself in his preface: "All were written either for private purposes or for the confidential information of the United States government." With all academic honesty, he also admits: "This material was unavoidably in many respects unbalanced and inadequate. In reflected serious lapses in my own historical background as well as in the range of my contacts in the Czechoslovak society of the time. The selection of the subject matter was inevitably affected by the limitations on opportunities for reading, for travel, and for personal acquaintance."

Such a confession does not diminish the value for historians or students of the political tragedy which started with Munich. Nevertheless, the reader and even more the student of history has to keep in mind the author's remarks, especially with regard to Slovakia, where his contacts were not only limited but his information came mostly from people who were not free to bias against the Slovak aspirations for an equal footing with the Czech half of the country. Kennan himself admits in his despatches that Slovakia was not treated by Prague governments without discrimination and prejudice; yet he accepted in many instances the Czech views on the motives and goals of the Hlinka's Slovak Populist Party, on the autonomist movement and on the contacts of its leaders with Berlin. The *Documents on German Foreign Policy 1918-1945*, published in 1957 by Her Majesty's Stationery Office in co-operation with the United States Department of State, dis-

prove many of the adverse allegations about the Slovak autonomist movement; even the history books published by communist historians in the short period of liberalization in Slovakia seem to put the events of 1938-1939 and the leading personalities in a more objective historical perspective than some documents contained in this volume. It would, however, be unjust to blame Kennan because his information was gathered from people either in Prague or in Slovakia who viewed the situation from their partisan position and with the result that his report reflected their biased opinions.

This valuable volume of documents and excellently written observations also suffers from another shortcoming. The author writes that the documents are source material "above all to those students of the political process who wish to examine the anatomy of an attempt by a military powerful country to dominate and control, under modern conditions, the life of a small and helpless but highly developed neighbor for whose national feelings, and claim to independence, it has only contempt." This is certainly a highly motivated purpose and no doubt the documents will be helpful in this respect. It is, however, hard to understand why the epilogue to this book was written by Frederick G. Heymann, who left Prague in 1939, was hardly acquainted with Slovakia and her internal problems and who admits that his own immediate information at the time on which Kennan reported same from representatives of the replaced Beneš Government and other Czech friends. In addition, Heymann admits that he stayed in Czecho-Slovakia only from 1932 to 1939 and "looked at the political

and socioeconomic development there from the viewpoint of a newspaperman of originally German background."

With all respect to Mr. Heymann, no student of Eastern European history can take this as his credentials to write an epilogue, let alone an objective epilogue to this volume. Especially acute is his biased attitude towards Slovakia which he severely condemns—not the regime exclusively which certainly deserve condemnation for some acts; furthermore, he does not even indicate that he ever lived in Slovakia or studied the Slovak problem.

J. M. Kirschbaum

David L. Hoggan: *Der Erzwangene Krieg*, Die Ursachen und Urheber des z. Weltkriegs, Verlag der Deutschen Hochschulelehrer-Zeitung Tübingen, 1963, bibliography, maps, photographs, pages 898.

The book *Der Erzwangene Krieg* (The Imposed War) by the American historian, Prof. David L. Hoggan, represents an effort to reverse the blame for the Second World War. According to his research, it was not Germany which imposed the war on other countries, but the war was imposed by other countries on Germany. The main culprit in Prof. Hoggan's opinion seems to be Poland, but other great powers share, according to him, some of the responsibility as well.

The voluminous work has been written in English but only its German translation has been so far published. If we believe the assertions of Dr. Herbert Grabert, several outstanding historians and colleagues of Prof. Hoggan in the United States read the manuscript and helped the author with advice

or agreed with his conclusions. He names especially Michael Karpovitch, Sidney B. Fay, William L. Langer, Rudolf Holsti, Harry Rudin, Raymond Sontag, Charles Tansill, M. K. Dziewanowski, Ralph Lutz, Henry Adams, James Martin and Richard Jones. Each of them "contributed a lot to the work; other renowned American learned men who came with worthwhile suggestions should not be quoted by their names but their help should be gratefully acknowledged," says Dr. Grabert.

The book is undoubtedly one of the most controversial works on the Second World War and it is the duty of the historians of the Second World War to come to grips with the conclusions of Prof. Hoggan. In view of his extended research and references to many works, his narrative seems to be in accordance with the facts. However unbelievable some of these conclusions may seem, Prof. Hoggan shows that he knows all the main sources and documents in English, German, French, Polish and Russian, and pays attention even to books by Czech, Rumanian and Slovak authors. This mass of documentation and references stresses the impression that the book is a scholarly serious undertaking and were it not for the many books published in the West, as well as by the Communist historians who defend quite opposite conclusions, the reader could draw the definite conclusion that the Second World War was really imposed upon the Third Reich.

The author, as well as the publishers, were aware of the controversial nature of the book and mentioned that some learned societies or historians in Germany itself express views which are in complete contradiction of Prof.

Hoggan's story on the reasons which led to the Second World War. Due to lack of space, we cannot unfortunately write an extensive review or to point out areas where the book differs from the accepted opinions expressed by either American, English, German, French or Russian historians and wish simply to register the publication of this book and its controversial contents.

It is also worthwhile to mention that the origins and birth of the Slovak Republic are presented in Prof. Hoggan's book in a different light than we are accustomed to in the books published in the West or in the Communist countries. Prof. Hoggan made the effort to get acquainted with books and documents published by Slovak scholars and historians abroad and did not accept the Czech version, greatly unfavorable to the Slovak people, but uncritically accepted by many renowned historians in the West and East alike.

Despite the fact that this book will be opposed by many historians who are unable or unwilling to correct their views no matter how erroneous they may be, Slovaks should be pleased that the truth about Slovakia begins to penetrate Western historiography. Unfortunately, insignificant as the Slovak problem seems to be to the Great Powers, foreign historians will not deal with small problems and by opposing the main conclusions of Prof. Hoggan's book, they will indirectly oppose also his truthful presentation in minor events including the origins and existence of the Slovak Republic. As a result, we must face reality and believe that it will take a long time and many efforts on the part of Slovak scholars who live in the Western world before Slovakia is treated

in Western historiography without bias and is free of anti-Slovak tendencies sustained and propagated mainly by the books of Czech historians and politicians and by Communist propaganda literature.

J. M. Kirschbaum

TOWARD A NEW CENTRAL EUROPE: A Symposium on the Problems of the Danubian Nations, Edited by: Francis S. Wagner, Danubian Press, Inc. Astor Park, Florida, 1970.

Not only specialists but anyone interested in Eastern Europe will welcome this well documented and carefully edited symposium which reflects the view of some 30 authors on the problems of Central Europe.

The book is divided into five parts and the contributors belong practically to all the peoples of the Danubian and Carpathian part of East Central Europe.

Part I deals with the international relations of individual Central European peoples with the Western Powers. It also contains some basic principles for the possibility of the co-existence of nations in the Danubian and Carpathian basins. The contributions by C. A. Macartney, T. Eckhardt, and the late Wenzel Jaksch seem to be the most relevant in this part. Part II deals with federalism in Central Europe and contains views and analysis of the federalist efforts in Central Europe by some 15 authors. We can find among them not only the late Prime Minister of Czecho-Slovakia, Milan Hodža, but also the well-known supporter of Danubian Federation, F. O. Miksche, as well as a contribution entitled: "Slovakia and the Integration Plans of Central Europe" by J. M. Kirschbaum, and a historical

survey of federalist movement among Slovaks and Czechs by Joseph Ostrovský entitled "Czech and Slovak Statesmen in Favor of a Central European Federation."

Part III deals with the national-ity questions which were the main problem in that part of Europe for the past 200 years. The authors, Alexander Gallus and Francis S. Wagner, who edited this symposium, figure among the main contributors to this part. As far as Slovakia is concerned, it is especially the contribution by Francis S. Wagner "The Nationality Problem in Czecho-Slovakia after World War II" which is of interest for Slovaks. Part IV deals with economic problems, and Part V contains maps and statistical data.

Even though it is impossible to agree with some of the views expressed by authors belonging to several nations, the book is a serious attempt to find ways for the nations in Central Europe, who are now in a Soviet influence zone (except for the Austrians) to live again together by pooling their economies and by assuring better economic standards and freedom for nearly one hundred million enslaved people. The academic value of the contributions differs from author to author but, generally, all contributions are on a high level and the maps and statistical data will be especially appreciated by those who research the problems of Central Eastern Europe.

From the Slovak point of view, in J. Ostrovský's article, one can, unfortunately, find some errors, inaccuracies and omissions. Dr. Milan Hodža died in the United States and not in London. The number of Magyars was never one million in Slovakia and the exact promise of a federal structure of Czecho-Slovakia by Dr. Beneš at the Peace

Conference reads as follows: "It is the intention of the Czecho-Slovak Government to create the organization of the State by accepting as a basis of natural rights the principles applied in the constitution of the Swiss Republic, that is, to make the Czecho-Slovak Republic a sort of Switzerland," and not as quoted by Ostrovský. The author also omitted other Slovaks who during or after the Second World War advocated federalist plans in Central Europe: Karol Sidor in "Gazette de Lausanne," Dr. F. Ďurčanský in "Revue de droit international" (Geneve, 1944), this writer in several foreign language articles and books, etc. In 1968 Czecho-Slovakia was proclaimed a federation of two Republics on October 27th in the Assembly and the following day in Bratislava, but with the provision that the Law No. 143 will take effect on January 1st, 1969, and not as Ostrovský writes. Certain of these omissions were unnecessary, because he could have found a detailed survey of Slovak federalist tendencies in my book: "Slovakia—Nation at the Crossroads of Central Europe" (R. Speller, Publishers, New York, 1960).

The contributors amassed a rich sources of bibliographical information in several languages which also can help to acquire a much better and more objective view of the problems in the past and the possibilities of co-operation of the peoples living between the Soviet Union and Germany in the future. The Magyar intellectuals who deserve recognition for publishing this symposium came undoubtedly with a good initiative to discuss on a broad basis the problems and ways which would lead toward a new Central Europe.

J. M. Kirschbaum

Beiträge zum Deutsch-Tschechischen Verhältnis im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert. (Veröffentlichungen des Collegium Carolinum) Verlag Robert Lerche (München, 1967), pp. 178.

This collection of lectures on the problem of German-Czech relations is an attempt at presenting the problem without passion on a scholarly basis. The lectures were read at a conference which took place in Nuremberg and Salzburg in 1964, but the book was published only in 1967.

Among the contributors there is a Czech historian, Bohdan Chudoba, and the former Czech diplomat, Karel Lisický. From the German side seven contributors deal with the problem and all seem to master the Czech language which would indicate that they were either born or studied in Czecho-Slovakia. Whoever read the documents on the expulsion of the Sudeten Germans or the book by Prof. Kurt Glaser (Czecho-Slovakia—A Critical History) must admire the quiet tone and restraint with which the German authors present the German-Czech relations through the centuries up to the expulsion of more than three million Sudeten Germans from their centuries old settlements in Bohemia. When Dr. Beneš was seeking the Allied support for his plan to expel the Sudeten Germans, he emphasized repeatedly that the transfers would be carried out decently and humanely. However, when he returned behind the Red Army to Slovakia and Bohemia, he apparently forgot about his promises of a human solution of the Sudeten German question. Basing his philosophy on the so-called "collective guilt," Dr. Beneš allowed the use of methods which Prof. Glaser calls "geno-

cide." The Czech population was encouraged before Dr. Beneš returned to Prague by his Ministers in exile: "to beat them; kill them; leave none alive," and many were massacred, mistreated, raped and burned alive. Hundreds of thousands died on the "death march" or in concentration camps, according to the published documents.

In spite of this, the volume under review refrained from general accusations of the whole Czech population and gives quite a sober survey of the German-Czech relations. Also the two Czech contributors avoid mentioning the massacres and plead for a sort of co-operation in Central Europe and reconciliation.

Among the contributions by German scholars, Dr. Kuhn's article on the attitude of the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia to the Sudeten German question is one which is the most timely since it is the Communist government and Moscow which can bring any change in the relations between Germans and Czechs, and give a new solution to the Sudeten German problem. For specialists in Eastern Europe will be, however, of great interest also the contributions by Ferdinand Seibt about the social structure of the first Czecho-Slovakia and Frederick Prinz's article on Beneš and the Sudeten Germans. E. Zajíček gives in his essay some insight into the politics of the Sudeten Germans who co-operated with Prague.

All the contributions were written on the basis of good knowledge of the literature either in the Czech, German or English language, which enhances the value of the book.

J. M. Kirschbaum

AS OTHERS SEE IT

I commend the Slovak leaders who are sponsoring and perfecting an organization of American Slovak patriots to continue the fight to restore freedom and self-government to the Slovak Nation. I also commend those Slovak leaders who are endeavoring to unite various Slovak organizations and groups throughout the country and combine their efforts in a unified force for the purpose of concentrating public opinion not only in America but throughout the world on enslaved nations who must break the shackles of despotism as rapidly as possible and give millions an opportunity to live and enjoy the life of freedom and self-determination.

The Slovak Nation historically maintains the highest spirit of friendship for all humanity and at no time in history has ever encroached upon the rights and freedoms of its neighbor nations, and has always given tangible proof of its generosity and spirit of cooperation with humanity in the hope that world peace can be a reality for all people on the globe.

The Slovak World Congress could inaugurate a great educational program to apprise youth in America and throughout the world of the true facts regarding world communism from the days of Lenin down to the present year 1970.

The free nations have the ability, the education, the defense machinery, and the assets to curtail the further spread of the Communist menace and we must continue our fight.

History has revealed over the centuries that dictators cannot stay in power long when they must rule

their people by the sword, guns, slave-labor camps, and mass murders.

Education and presentation of fact on Communist enslavement to the world's uninformed are the greatest weapons democracy possesses against the destruction of the Communist menace.

The free world must continue this fight. Someday this victory will be won and the Communist enslavers will become extinct. Slovakia and other captive nations will regain free and independent government.

I know that the SLOVAK WORLD CONGRESS will continue its outstanding contribution to the free world's fight to exterminate international communist conspiracy and restore freedom to millions throughout the world by the re-establishment of former governments which will give freedom and liberty to their people. — *Ray J. Madden, M. C.*

Mr. ESHLEMAN. Mr. Speaker, neither the Slovak League of America nor the Congress of the United States has forgotten the brutal occupation of Slovakia by the Soviet Army in 1968.

We appeal to the conscience of America, to the American people, and to the United Nations—most of all—for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Slovak soil and for guaranteed free democratic elections under United Nations' control.

One of my valued constituents, Mr. Joseph Pauco, is secretary of the Slovak League of America. That organization is entirely correct when they, in the proper manner, demand the right of freedom for Slovakia. — *Edwin D. Eshleman, M. C.*

The leading example of an unemployed party official is, of course, Alexander Dubcek, the party's leader during the reforms. After dismissal earlier this year as Ambassador to Turkey and expulsion from the party, Mr. Dubcek retired to his Bratislava home to await employment.

He turned down a fund-handling post with the Slovak social-security agency for fear that it might be used to implicate him in possible misappropriation charges. He requested instead, employment as a forester...

The makers and chief proponents of Czecho-Slovakia's lost liberalization take their principal consolation from the fact that there have been no political trials and few Czechs or Slovaks are in jail on political charges. But most see no reason to consider this state necessarily permanent.

It is generally believed that while the party's First Secretary, there will be no political trials because Mr. Husak was himself a victim of such a trial in Stalin's day. But if the Soviet Union wants trials, according to this belief, it will replace Mr. Husak just as it ousted Mr. Dubcek last year and replaced him with Mr. Husak.

Mr. Husak, while evidently still the man Moscow considers best able to run Czecho-Slovakia, has for some time been under open attack by party leaders even more pro-Soviet than himself. It is assumed here that these leaders are also operating with Soviet approval, presumably to keep Mr. Husak from the illusion of independent power.

The most determined of Mr. Husak's opponents are Antonín Kappek, secretary of the Prague organization and Alois Indra, Central Committee secretary. At a meeting

of the party presidium last month, Mr. Husak was in the minority of a 7-4 vote over an analysis of the events leading up to the Soviet invasion. The following morning Mr. Husak left for Moscow to receive Kremlin assurances of continued confidence.

Mr. Husak received limited Soviet support earlier this fall when a major campaign to remove him was disclosed through the accidental death of one of the conspirators. Jaroslav Trojan, a member of the presidium of the Federal Assembly, was killed as he drove his car after a drinking session with a Soviet companion. A routine search of his desk disclosed copies of dozens of letters by right-wing party officials addressed to various Soviet leaders and calling for the ouster of Mr. Husak.

The party leader was authorized to dismiss a few of his principal opponents, notably the Czech Interior Minister, Josef Groesser, and the military man in charge of liaison with the Soviet occupation troops, Gen. Otakar Rytar. But after the general's dismissal, Moscow was reported to have sent word that he was to be the last "internationalist" ousted.

"Internationalist" is the term for those who accept the doctrine that the Soviet Union has the right to intervene in a socialist country whenever it says socialism is threatened, such as in Czecho-Slovakia in 1968.

Opponents of Mr. Husak are conducting a campaign to present him as insufficiently internationalist. At a Central Committee meeting this month, Vasil Bilak, a strongly pro-Soviet leader, surprisingly disclosed that he had a long-missing document that would identify the genuine internationalists and from which Mr. Husak's name is absent.

The document is the alleged 1968 letter from Czecho-Slovak leaders to the Soviet Union inviting the Warsaw Pact intervention. The letter was mentioned by Moscow immediately after the invasion but has never been produced nor all its signers disclosed. Mr. Bilak listed about 40 signers, including himself, Mr. Kapek and Mr. Indra. — *The New York Times*, December 22, 1970.

George Blanda, the 43-year-old grey-beard sub quarterback and kicking specialist of the Oakland Raiders football team whose last-gasp heroics gave new hope to the middle-aged, has been named Male Athlete of the Year by the Associated Press.

The ageless marvel of the gridiron, who excelled in a tough contact sport competing against athletes half his age, beat out a glittering array of stars in assorted sports in the year-end poll of sports writers and broadcasters.

Blanda received 332 votes compared with 246 for Bobby Orr, defenseman of the Boston Bruins hockey team who was runner-up, and 224 for Johnny Bench, slugging catcher of the Cincinnati Reds' baseball team who was a close third. — *Associated Press*. (Blanda is of Slovak ancestry.)

I could not condemn the Hungarians or the Czechs and Slovaks, for example, if they were able to launch an effort in this country to turn our eyes toward the danger of the new isolationism. — Frank Morris. *The Wanderer*, St. Paul, Minn., September 24, 1970.

Those who have known nothing but freedom seldom are capable of appreciating the single majesty of that which they have: the privilege of affecting their own destiny. But

ask any Czech or Slovak, who has had liberty and then lost it, what it means to be free. Such men know, and in them the dream never dies. — Smith Hempstone. *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, November 1, 1970.

Slovak police recently made a series of raids on government stores and found that one-third were overcharging by as much as 50 per cent on scarce goods. Forty thousand dollars worth of goods were found hidden for customers with extra money. — Donald R. Shanor. *Chicago Daily News*. December 26, 1970.

Slovak youth stubbornly clings to its anti-Soviet feelings and looks upon the presence of Soviet troops in Czecho-Slovakia as the greatest injustice and offense.

This is the conclusion of Ondrej Pavlik, a member of the Slovak Academy of Science. Pavlik gave an account—in the official organ of the Ministry of Education—of an investigation carried out among students in secondary schools in all parts of Slovakia.

In the course of the research more than 2000 questionnaires were collected from students and 400 from teachers. The replies were anonymous.

Pertinent portions of Pavlik's report follow:

"The entry of Soviet troops in our country and their stationing here still occupy a dominant position in the minds of our students.

"The Soviet presence in our country is considered by students as a grave act of injustice and a sufficient reason to feel angry at the Soviet Union.

"Another source of anti-Sovietism among our youth is our trade relation with the Soviet Union and other Communist countries. The

arguments of Ota Sik, economic expert during the Dubcek era are still accepted as valid by our youth.

'There is much confusion in the minds of our students about modern capitalism. The students' arguments are seldom political but chiefly of economic nature.

"The survey revealed a strikingly high degree of religious beliefs, especially among girls in all secondary schools of Slovakia. In most cases the influence of the school in political-ideological questions is weak, very weak indeed.

"Too many teachers concentrate on their particular subject, or pretend they do and do not concern themselves with ideological education; they regard ideological educational work with disdain.

"The investigation revealed that students seldom ask their teachers ideological questions for fears of embarrassing the teachers. There is a kind of tacit agreement between students and teachers: 'you say what you want and we think what we want.'

"A considerable proportion of the youth questioned have expressed confidence in the person of Gustav Husak, present leader of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, even though such students remain highly critical of the Soviets.

"The reduced emphasis put on atheistic education is chiefly responsible for the growing influence of the Church among Slovak youth." — Theodore Andrica. *Cleveland Press Vienna Bureau*.

I went behind the Iron Curtain. For so many years I have read a lot of reports concerning communism and many times I often wondered how much of the horror that I have read about is true. So many times I wondered, as I think most Americans have, is commu-

nism as bad as my government has told me?

Although my trip to Slovakia was short, I can tell you that communism is horrible. I flew from Zurich, Switzerland to Vienna, Austria. In Austria, part of our free world, I rented a car and drove to Slovakia. The entry point was Bratislava. Trying desperately to find my way through the chopped up, beaten, narrow streets of the city, I stopped at a little store to try to get directions to the institute. A woman about 60 years old attending this store, which had nothing but barren shelves and some old clothing, was very secretly hanging a Christmas tree ball in the far end of the store. What she was trying to do was add some Christmas to her store which was something she enjoyed as a young woman. Any display, religious or nationalistic, is absolutely forbidden. A prison sentence is imposed.

As I drove through Bratislava, there were uniformed soldiers and police with machine guns. Their purpose was to contain the Slovak people so they could not revolt or could not escape the country.

Obviously, the people knew that I was American by the way I was dressed and also the license plates on the automobile were that of the free world.

A Slovak friend told me how communism begins to infect people and countries. He told me that if you read the Communist doctrine, it sounds glorious but impossible to work. He told me that communism in Russia itself is a complete failure and certainly was a failure in Czechoslovakia. So much so that it is necessary in Russia and in Czechoslovakia to contain the people by machine guns.

He talked of America's greatness, and said that one of the great

things about America was our free enterprise system. People are individualistic, people want to progress in their life. If a man does more, he is entitled to more. If a man has greater ability, he is entitled to advance. Under the Communist system no such thing exists. There is no individual compensation for doing more or knowing more.

He urged me to make known what I saw so that people here would know the true horrors of communism. The lack of sufficient food and clothing. The government regulating their lives. You can't buy a pair of shoes unless the government authorizes you to purchase them. You can't buy a suit unless the government approves the purchase of a suit. There is something that resembles TV with one channel. This goes on about 7 o'clock at night and it is turned off approximately at 9. Half of the time is devoted to government propaganda.

When the Russians came into Czecho-Slovakia, they did so because Czech and Slovak peoples were desirous of developing a free enterprise system so that people could work and get paid fairly for their day's labor, so that they could trade and associate more closely with the free world.

The Russians invaded Czecho-Slovakia. As Communists do they raped the nation, they pulled out all of the machinery in their factories, they even tore out street lights and took them into Russia. The Slovak people told me that the Russian soldiers did not have a watch on their wrist and in order to get a watch they pulled it off the arm of the Slovak people. They also touched on the intrusion of their homes and the raping of their wives and daughters, which is

again a typical Communist and Nazi type of thing. He begged me to tell people how truly horrible communism is. It is very difficult for me to tell you how bad I really think it is.

The Communists are told that soon America will convert to communism. This man told me this is difficult to believe. He said why would anybody want communism when you have such a wonderful system. I told him that the propaganda he was hearing was untrue, that there are some people, who believe communism is good, but unfortunately they have not seen what I have seen.

He warned me to beware of what I say. Under Communism we don't know who will report us. If you say something to offend the system you could very easily be thrown in prison, in fact, they are looking just for that. — American Tourist. *The Evening News*, Harrisburg, Pa., December 26, 1970.

The Christmas holiday for Czecho-Slovakia ended abruptly in a working Sunday.

Factories, stores and shops were open, and traffic appeared about as heavy as on a weekday.

Officially it was a week day—Thursday, to be exact. The government decreed that it took the place of last Thursday, Christmas Eve, on the economic schedule, with all normal Thursday services supposed to be operating.

Thursday had been designated a Saturday, meaning half-day shopping and offices closed.

The calendar confusion continues with Monday designated a Wednesday for work and organizational purposes. Tuesday is Tuesday but you're wrong if you think it will be followed by Wednesday.

Wednesday, Dec. 30, has been designated a Friday, meaning extra

long business hours, because the real Friday, Jan. 1, is a holiday. Next Saturday, Jan. 2, has been designated a Sunday and Sunday, Jan. 3, a Monday.

Finally, on Monday, January 4, normality of sorts returns—if two Mondays in one week can be considered normal. — *Associated Press*.

The federal status of Czechia, Moravia and Slovakia has been replaced by strict Prague centralism, much to the embarrassment of Gustav Husak, the Communist Party's first secretary. As a Slovak nationalist, Husak spent years in jail during the Novotny regime. — Theodore Andrica, *Cleveland Press Vienna Bureau*.

Shortly after President Richard Nixon's inauguration in 1968 it was reported from Washington that Dr. Walter R. Tkach, an American of Slovak descent, and a long-time friend, serving as a colonel with the U.S. Air Force Medical Corps, was recalled from Vietnam to be chief medical advisor to the President.

About a year later Dr. Tkach, a 52-year old native of Monongahela, Pa., a suburb of Pittsburgh (his wife Helen, also hails from the same town), was promoted to the rank of Brigadier General.

Dr. Tkach was graduated from Penn State College where he attained a Bachelor of Science in Chemistry, and embarked on an Air Force career after graduation from medical school in 1945. He served in Japan 1946-1948. Since that time he had tours of duty at various military medical schools, clinics and institutions, before be-

ing called to serve as the White House physician.

It is not generally known, but the White House is equipped with an ultra modern medical clinic which is at the service of Mr. Nixon, his family, and the White House staff. More complete facilities are available at nearby Bethesda Naval Hospital, Walter Reed Army Hospital and AFB with attending specialists. The White House clinic is staffed by seven people, three of whom are doctors. Whenever the president leaves the White House, even though it might be only a few feet away, he is always accompanied by a doctor.

Dr. Tkach first became acquainted with Mr. Nixon 17 years ago when he served as our country's vice-president. Dr. Tkach at the time was an assistant on President Eisenhower's medical staff in the White House. He accompanied the vice-president as his medical advisor during his historic trip to Russia, and on other travels had an opportunity to meet with famous world personages like Nehru of India and Hirohito of Japan...

The President's regimen under the close watch of Dr. Tkach seems to be working for him. Just recently Mr. Nixon remarked that he could not recall ever having had headache, the physical kind of course!

Dr. Tkach is a strong advocate of military service. He feels that military service affords young physicians unlimited opportunities, and recommends that they consider military careers, particularly in the Air Force. — *Dr. S. J. Hletko*, National Slovak Society Almanac, Pittsburgh, Pa.

The last remaining clause of Alexander Dubček's short lived "action program" is crumbling.

That clause is the one that instituted a Czecho-Slovak "federation" — a move that gave Slovakia, for the first time, more or less equal status with the more educated, industrialized, prosperous and powerful Czech lands.

Dubček, a Slovak, included the federation in the action program he introduced on April 9, 1968, at a time when his now discredited liberalization was at its height. The action program also provided a range of civil rights—freedoms of speech, assembly and the press, secret elections, freedom to travel—that disappeared within a year of the Soviet led invasion.

But Dubček's successor Communist Party First Secretary Gustáv Husák, also a Slovak, and there were hopes that he would keep the federation plan which was enormously popular in Slovakia.

It's likely to remain, at least on paper, for some time. But a series of measures taken over the Christmas holidays have reduced it to an empty shell.

Through government decrees and parliamentary moves, the regime has all but eliminated Slovakia's autonomy in economics and put its economy back under central control from Prague — a Czech city.

Under federation, separate Czech and Slovak passports were issued. The new law erases this and re-introduces Czecho-Slovak citizenship.

Foreign currency control, the

state bank, fuel and power engineering, transport and communications have all been recentralized in Prague. New national ministers have been appointed and the Czech and Slovak ministries closed. Even the secret police are to be controlled from the center again.

Husák, in a speech last month, pledged that the federation itself would last, but said certain minor shortcomings had to be solved. The new laws were the result.

To add insult to injury, both the Czech and Slovak governments had to approve emasculation of their own powers.

A constitutional court was to have been set up arbitrate disputes between the two halves of Czecho-Slovakia and the national government. As far as is known the court does not exist. Instead, the Prague government has been authorized to handle such disputes—making it both prosecutor and judge.

From the Slovaks' point of view, possibly the worst development was the new power of the central government to allocate investments in Slovakia or Czech lands. For decades under communism and before communism—Prague short-changed the Slovaks in investment and industry, keeping the area permanently depressed. The record of the prewar Beneš-Masaryk government was no better than the postwar Communist regime.

After the action program, Slovaks hoped the age old imbalance would end. That hope now is dying. — *Richard C. Longworth* of United Press International, February 25, 1971.

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